



Daily Report

East Europe

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9 August 1991

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Would-Be Refugees Clash With Durres Port Guards

*AU0808193091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Telephone report from Durres correspondent Astrit Tahiri]

[Summary from poor reception] The situation in Durres is very tense today. Large numbers of people arrived from many districts of the country yesterday, wanting to enter the port. They spent the night outdoors in front of the port gates. Early in the morning, several hundred people succeeded in entering the port, where they waited on the quays. There is not a single ship in the port, because those that remained moved some distance away. Fishing boats filled with people remain anchored at the port's entrance.

Many people gathered at the port entrance. At about 0830 [0630 GMT] they were confronted by the port guards. Crowds of people threw stones at the guards. There were gunshots. This situation lasted about two hours. At about 0930, the situation became more tense and people took to the town's streets. Hospitals have provided details of casualties.

Two policeman have been wounded.

The local authorities have taken measures to transport people who had arrived from other districts. At 1115 and 1230, two trains full of people left for Tirana and Elbasan. Twelve buses also left in different directions. The situation in Durres is now calm.

Death Reported in Clashes

*AU0808193491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Dear listeners, in connection with the events that occurred today in the town of Durres, our 1530 [1330 GMT] newscast mentioned one person killed from the town of Librazhd. Our Librazhd correspondent reports that the name of the person killed was not given correctly in the 1530 newscast, but is Eduard (?Bloshti), 34 years old, married and with two children. We apologize for our erroneous report.

Council of Ministers Discusses Refugee Exodus

*AU0808195091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Dear listeners, we have just received the news that the Council of Ministers began a meeting today at 1500 [1300 GMT], chaired by Prime Minister Ylli Bufi.

The first item on the agenda was the problem of the exodus and the situation in the ports of Durres and Vlore. Zydi Pepa, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, reported in detail on the situation in Durres. He said that there had again been gatherings in the town and especially in the port during the day. The crowd responded to the efforts of the Army and the forces of order to evacuate the port with firearms. Soldiers and policemen were wounded. At the

same time, one person among the crowd was also killed, under still unclear circumstances. An investigative group started work immediately. Pepa stated that at about 1530 the Army and the forces of order cleared the port area. However, in order to ensure order, he suggested that fresh forces should be sent to the port.

Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani reported on his contacts with officials of Italy and Malta, the countries in which the seized ships have arrived. He reported that Italian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitalone confirmed at a meeting today the Italian Government's position on not accepting a single additional Albanian refugee. Vitalone stated that they will all be sent back immediately, and proposed ways of carrying this out in the fastest and simplest way.

Kapllani also reported that in the course of the day, he also had two telephone conversations with Guido de Marco, foreign minister of Malta, where the ship Iliria has anchored. De Marco told his Albanian counterpart that Malta cannot allow Albanian refugees to stay there, and will demand that they return home.

Concluding the discussions on this matter, Bufi stressed the urgent need to enforce the government decisions of yesterday. He set several specific tasks for the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Public Order in order to establish order in all the ports, especially Durres.

The Council of Ministers is continuing with other items on the agenda.

Italian Minister Meetings

*AU0808195491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Italian Prime Minister Andreotti's special envoy, Deputy Foreign Minister Claudio Vitalone paid a short working visit to Albania today. He had separate meetings with Prime Minister Ylli Bufi and Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani. The problem of the recent exodus of Albanian refugees to Italy and the measures the Government of National Stability has taken to normalize the situation in our country's ports were at the center of the talks.

Torquato Cardilli, Italian ambassador to Tirana, was also present at the talks.

Deputy Foreign Minister Vitalone left Albania today.

Democratic Party Says Exodus 'Organized'

*AU0808121391 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network
in German 1000 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Armin Wolf report including statement by Genc Pollo, spokesman of the Democratic Party of Albania]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Genc Pollo is the spokesman of the Democratic Party of Albania, which until recently was the main opposition party, but two months ago became part of a coalition government [Konzentrationsregierung] with

seven ministers. This is how Pollo explains the sudden wave of refugees of the past two days:

[Begin Pollo recording] It must have been organized in some way or other. Something like that cannot start so suddenly by itself. Rumors are being spread, the police no longer intervene, and people can occupy the ships almost without any problems and get away. There are certainly forces that are not interested in democracy and that are trying as hard as they can to destabilize the situation at any cost, for example the old elite of the communists who were brought down, or the Sigurimi, the secret police. [end recording]

Yesterday, the government decided to set up an investigations committee to examine the events in the harbors. The directors of the harbors of Durres and Durrës would be able to organize such a wave of refugees unless tens of thousands of people wanted nothing more than to leave the country as quickly as they could. The economic crisis in the poorest country of Europe is worse than ever before. All foods apart from bread were rationed in the spring, and it was impossible to buy milk. Now there is even a shortage of bread and potatoes, the only available food. This country in the middle of Europe is really starving. This is what Genc Pollo says about the reasons for the collapse of agriculture in Albania:

[Begin Pollo recording] The cooperatives have been dissolved and since April there has been chaos everywhere in the villages. The people no longer know who owns what. Fortunately, two weeks ago, Parliament passed the law on ownership of land. Now people are beginning to distribute the land of the cooperatives. Before that there was total chaos, and in such chaos one can hardly expect a good harvest. Harvest figures have approximately been halved compared to last year. [end recording]

Albanian Ecological Party Issues Statement on Kosovo

*AU0908103791 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT
9 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 9 (ATA)—A statement of the Albanian Ecological Party with regard to the actual situation in Yugoslavia and in Kosovo stresses among others that this party is rather worried over the situation created in Yugoslavia, which is of consequences for the Balkans and Europe.

The threat for a military act against the Albanian population in order to provoke a massive massacre against it, is evident, the statement says. The Ecological Party affirms once more its position for the solution through peaceful ways and democratic means of the conflicts occurring in the present Yugoslav state.

The statement points out that we consider as just all the demands of the Albanian population in Kosovo and other territories of Yugoslavia to be equal with all other peoples of the Yugoslav federation. We say to the Serb chauvinists: "Off hands from martyr Kosovo. The Albanians on this side of the border and on the other side are one."

'Drunken Reservists' Enter Kosovo Mosque

*AU0908070291 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian
3 Aug 91 p 16*

[R. Reshitaj report: "Drunken Serbian Reservists in a Mosque"]

[Text] Suva Reka, 2 Aug—The mobilized Serbs and Montenegrins who are assembled in military formations and stationed in the vicinity of Suva Reka have recently been stepping up their provocations and maltreatment of innocent and bare-handed Albanians. As the Suva Reka branch of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms reports, the militia together with military reservists have in the past few days been parading through the villages of Galanc and Gerikoc, harassing and maltreating the villages' inhabitants.

For instance, at about 1000 [0800 GMT] on 26 July, members of these formations manhandled Isuf Kurtishaj from the village of Galac, and on the following day manhandled the elderly Bajram Ukaj, from the same village. Besides other provocations, the reservists removed the white skull caps, traditional Albanian national symbols, from these people's heads.

At 2200 on 27 July, three reservists entered the Suva Reka mosque at a time when Islamic believers were preparing for evening prayer. The drunken reservists taunted Habib Bytyci, the mosque's imam, who was at the time calling people to prayer. They demanded that the imam translate the prayers into the Serbian language! Behaving in such a way, the reservists prevented prayers from being held for some time, and then left the mosque, supposedly for fear of God.

The Suva Reka Mosque Council and the Islamic Community Council strongly protest this unpleasant behavior and violation of the tenets of Islam by the drunken military reservists, and consider that the current Serbian authorities are preventing Albanians from performing their religious ceremonies.

The Suva Reka Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, in its own communique, calls on people to be very careful and vigilant in this very serious situation.

Alia Receives Bulgaria's Todorov

*AU0908104891 Tirana ATA in English 0821 GMT
9 Aug*

[Text] Tirana, August 9 (ATA)—Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, received at the Palace of Brigades on August 8 before noon the chairman of the parliament of Bulgaria, the academician Nikolai Todorov and the other members of the delegation he is heading.

President Ramiz Alia briefed the Bulgarian guests on the democratic developments in Albania, the difficulties our country is undergoing and the measures being taken to overcome them.

Speaking of the friendly ties, he said that there has been no problem between our two countries, we have had cooperation and understanding. Now too, he said, we must be together and all possibilities exist to further strengthen and expand the ties and cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria in the economic, political, cultural and other fields of mutual interest.

On his part, academician Nikolai Todorov expressed his satisfaction over the warm welcome extended at this meeting. He conveyed to the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, the greetings of the president of Bulgaria, Zhelju Zhelev.

They exchanged views on the situation in the Balkans and particularly on the grave situation in Yugoslavia. President Ramiz Alia stressed that the current Yugoslav crisis which is of grave consequences for the Balkans and Europe, cannot be solved without the participation of the Albanians residing in their own territories in Yugoslavia. The displacement of fire from the north to the south, he said, is a great danger. Both sides stressed the need of strengthening cooperation, in order to make the Balkans a region of peace and stability.

President Ramiz Alia asked Mr. Todorov to convey his greetings to the Bulgarian president Zhelju Zhelev.

Kapllani Receives Todorov

*AU0808142691 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT
8 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 8 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, received the chairman of the Parliament of Bulgaria, Nikolay Todorov.

The foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, spoke of the traditional relations existing between the two countries and voiced the readiness of the Albanian party for an all-sided development of the relations between Albania and Bulgaria in the new conditions of the democratic processes in both countries.

On his part, Nikolay Todorov emphasized the readiness of Bulgaria for the development on a broad scale of the relations between the two countries and the indispensable need of raising the level of the political dialogue between them.

They in the meeting spoke also of the situation in the Balkans, the crisis in Yugoslavia and the role both countries may play in the strengthening of peace and security in our region and broader.

Bufi Meets Todorov

*AU0808142991 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT
8 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 8 (ATA)—On August 7, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Ylli Bufi received in the seat of the Council of Ministers the chairman of the Parliament of Bulgaria, the academician Nikolay Todorov and the delegation accompanying him. They talked of the possibilities for

the extension of the relations of our two countries in various domains of mutual interest, the situation in the Balkans and in Yugoslavia in particular, stressing that the tense situation existing there and the dangers it presents for the other Balkan countries and Europe.

On August 7, the minister of foreign economic relations, Ylli Cabiri, and the minister of culture, youth and sports, Prec Zogaj, received in separate meetings the delegation of the Parliament of Bulgaria, led by its leader, the academician Nikolay Todorov. They talked of further extension of the economic and trade exchanges between Albania and Bulgaria, as well as of the cultural relations of mutual interest.

On August 7, the delegation of the Parliament of Bulgaria had a meeting at the Academy of Sciences with its vice chairman, Prof. Hekuran Mara, and paid a visit to the National Museum of History.

PSSH Protests Democratic Party Stands on War Leaders

*AU0808140891 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT
8 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 8 (ATA)—In the sitting of August 7 before noon, the vice chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Aleksander Meksi, informed the deputies that, after debates with the presidencies of the parliamentary groups, the Presidency of the People's Assembly deemed it necessary to have a consultation with the government before voting on the law "On the Amnesty of the Political Prisoners."

Then, Fadil Nasufi took the floor. He made a statement in the name of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party.

The deputies of the Socialist Party, he said, are for the broadest amnesty, rehabilitation through legitimate ways. These have to do with the correct understanding of the democratic processes our pluralistic society is passing. But they do not agree with some opinions and dangerous inclinations of the extreme right voiced by deputies of the Democratic Party.

Mud is thrown at the Antifascist National Liberation War and Enver Hoxha, commander in this war, who was described as a traitor, he said. Some other distinguished figures of the National Liberation Front, even leaders of the war such as the heroes of the people Haxhi Lleshi, Myslim Peza, Hysni Kapo, Shefqet Peci, were described as antinational. There were calls that beys and landlords come and take in their hands the country's fates and lead the country to progress. In these conditions we have but to ask the Democratic Party and its leaders: Are they with the Antifascist National Liberation War? Are they against or for the Treacherous organizations of Balli Kombetar [National Front] and Legaliteti [Legality] that collaborated with the occupier?

We must declare that to denigrate such figures means to denigrate the commanders and commissars of 70,000 partisans and to trample under foot the blood of 28,000

martyrs, who did not wage a fratricidal war, but a war against the occupiers and their local collaborators. These are an encouragement for revanchism, they have not at all to do with the national unity we want to set up, they bring water against national cause and in service of destabilization. [sentence as received]

Then the deputy Neritan Ceka, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party [DP] took the floor. The accusations for the Democratic Party and the effort to take upon itself all the merits of history, even the martyrs, the struggle is in the tradition of the Party of Labour, which considers itself saviour of the nation and the forerunner of the entire Albanian nation. This period of time is now over. The DP group, considering itself not implicated in the past, and without any responsibility for the faults committed by a party which has led the country for a long time, demands innocence for the former prisoners according to laws that had to do with the freedom of thoughts. DP is made up of deputies, who are linked with the Antifascist National Liberation War. There is not a deputy of the DP against this war, as a national struggle for liberation. If there were there accusations by certain persons, the DP is not going to represent them.

They are personal opinions of certain deputies. We have made it clear in our programme that we are neither for the return of the beys nor for the return of Zog's successors. Our stand is that of the Constitution.

In the afternoon sitting the draft law "On the Military Police in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania" was discussed.

Then the deputies approved the draft law "On the Opening and Functioning of the Representation Boards of the Foreign Enterprises or Firms in the Republic of Albania." This draft law envisages the main conditions for opening these boards, their rights and tasks, the criteria of changing, or possible suspension of their activity, etc.

The assembly will continue its proceedings on August 8.

Stalin Association To Be Formed in Gjirokaster

AU0908090691 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian
31 Jul 91 p 1

[Faruk Myrtaj article: "The Stalinists Take the Stage Again?..."]

[Text] The envelope addressed to the ZERI I RINISE Editorial Board bears the sender's name: Filip Panajoti, Gjirokaster.

Because we are an open, unbiased, and pluralist newspaper, we publish the letter's contents in full:

Announcement [subhead]

We wish to inform the public that the "J.V. Stalin" Philosophical, Artistic, Cultural, and Political Association, based in the town of Gjirokaster, will soon be formed and authorized.

This association will strive to restore justice regarding the figure of Comrade Stalin and will struggle for a greater awareness of the works of this Marxist-Leninist of genius, who helped long-suffering Albania so much.

Our association is in favor of democratic developments and will struggle by democratic means, continually relying on the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

J.V. Stalin Association Central Committee. Gjirokaster, 5 July 1991.

A Few Notes [subhead]

1. Because other newspapers have carried various reports about changes of addresses, engagements, and offers of marriage, we see no reason why we should not also publish the announcement of the formation (soon) of the J.V. Stalin Association! We will even remind F. Panajoti, the author of the letter, to pay his debt to our paper for the publication of the above announcement, out of the first membership subscriptions after the association's (?certain) authorization.

2. We fail to understand why a special association is necessary "to restore justice regarding the figure of Comrade Stalin," when he is so close to his counterpart Comrade Enver, who already has an association "with about 1,500,000 members."

Stalin was indeed a genius, a general, and a generalissimo, but it will be uphill work persuading people that he did "so much" for Albania, or that he was a philosopher, and artist, a...! They almost say he came from Gjirokaster.

3. We believe that you are "in favor of democratic development," but we would like to remind you that it was precisely these developments that brought down Josif's monument and the Stalinist dictatorship. Who will you befriend, and who will you quarrel with, among living democrats and dead Marxist-Leninists?

4. You would do well to send copies of your announcement to other newspapers, of the opposition or not. Do not forget SINDIKALISTI! The parrot's caretaker will help you a great deal, more than we can as an unbiased newspaper. The people at SINDIKALISTI are dying for a bit of Stalin. Do not deprive them of the pleasure for long.

With respect,

Faruk Myrtaj, staff member responsible for replying to your letter.

Tomov Criticizes Koen, Ludzhev Statement on EC

[DUMA report]

AU0808161791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
3 Aug 91 p 1, 2

[Text] The statements by Lea Koen, Bulgarian ambassador to Belgium, and by Dimitur Ludzhev in the 1 August issue of the newspaper "24 CHASA" may have negative consequences for the country, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov told journalists on 2 August.

In the newspaper issue in question, Lea Koen asserted that the EC Commission has not yet reached a decision on finalizing the procedure for the negotiations on Bulgaria's association with the EC. For this reason, the fuss made by the newspapers concerning a personal letter from Jacques Delors to Dimitur Popov was unnecessary, and accordingly Aleksandur Tomov found himself in a delicate situation during his latest visit to Brussels, where, in addition to signing a memorandum on granting \$13 million for the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, he was also "invited" to start the negotiations.

Mr. Tomov indeed expressed such a wish, but he caused a degree of misunderstanding, stated Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev in the report in "24 CHASA," referring to Lea Koen's announcement.

Such statements are nothing more than politicking. An ambassador is a servant of the state and is not entitled to make statements on an issue before members of the government do so, Aleksandur Tomov said.

In his view, the finalizing of the procedure and the commencement of the talks on Bulgaria's associate membership of the EC are purely technical problems. Aleksandur Tomov explained that Bulgaria merely has to wait its turn in line, now that the EC has given the green light for the negotiations. He also briefed the journalists on the results of his visit to France.

Council of Ministers Discusses Budget Revisions

AU0808213091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1452 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Bilyana Mikhaylova report]

[Text] Reporter Bilyana Mikhaylova is going to brief us on the work of the Council of Ministers today:

[Mikhaylova] At today's session the government examined a draft decree on updating the state budget for 1991.

This included expenditures for state government institutions, state administration, courts of justice, the Prosecutor's Office, autonomous higher educational institutions, and social welfare measures.

The cabinet members were briefed on the implementation of the state budget for the first six months of the year.

The program on the budget revenues has not been fulfilled for the first half of the year, because of declining production and consumption, and also for failing to achieve the planned inflation parameters.

The budget expenditures are restricted in accordance with the limited budget revenues, Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov explained and he compared the present state of the budget to the situation of average Bulgarian business enterprises.

The state-administrative expenditures will presumably be restricted for reasons of economy. The finance minister assumes that the situation should improve during the second half of the year when the major part of revenues for the state budget is expected.

In addition to this, Kostov declared that it is necessary to establish an authority in charge of tax control over business companies. Approximately 8,000 people should be employed in this institution.

The government adopted a decision on the amendment of the Foreign Travel Passports Law. A special group should be appointed to take charge of reexamining and specifying the proposed draft decision, according to which the circle of people who are entitled to official passports should be expanded.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a decree related to Bulgarian students studying abroad whose contracts on scholarships and employment after graduation were unilaterally cancelled by the companies who sent them abroad. These students are authorized to apply for state scholarships under certain conditions.

Government Takes Over State Railways' Debts

AU0808153991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
3 Aug 91 p 2

[Evgeni Gavrilov report]

[Text] The government decided on 2 August that the debts of 604 million leva owed by the Bulgarian State Railways Company will be converted into a state debt. The negative differences in the rates of exchange affecting the money owed by the railways to foreign railway administrations for conveying freight for Bulgaria last year will be charged to the state budget.

The Council of Ministers agreed in principle to allocate funds from the updated budget to ministries, departments, and other organizations. The final document on the distribution of the money will be ready next week.

Chief Prosecutor Gunev Reportedly Resigns

AU0808182991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1652 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Martin Gunev, chief prosecutor of the Republic of Bulgaria, has submitted a resignation request. The request will be examined at the first session of the Supreme Judicial Council.

The duties of the chief prosecutor will be exercised in the meantime by Petur Kostov, hitherto deputy chief prosecutor of the republic.

Prime Minister To Appoint Interim Municipal Councils

AU0808124591 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK
in Bulgarian 2 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The prime minister will be able to appoint the interim administrative committees of municipal councils without the agreement of the political forces represented in the National Assembly. The government adopted the bill on amendments and addenda to the Law on Municipal Councils, which will quickly be brought before the National Assembly.

The motives behind this are connected with a desire for a more efficient resolution of problems. The practice until now, which also involved consultations at a local level, proved ineffective, and authority became destabilized. Because of the lack of local administrations, commissions for the forthcoming elections cannot be appointed.

New Leaders Appointed for National Radio

AU0808122591 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian
2 Aug 91 p 1

[Sonya Stoyanova report]

[Text] On 1 August the Legislative Radio and Television Commission confirmed the collective leadership of Bulgarian Radio proposed by Aleksandur Vladkov, chairman of the Radio Committee. The decision comes into force as of 1 August 1991. Ivan Obretenov was appointed director of the Khorizont Program, and other members of the program's leadership are Chavdar Kiselincev, Georgi Minchev, and Rayna Konstantinova. Mr. Vladkov has until 6 August to propose a director for the Khristo Botev Program, following the rejection of the candidature of Vladimir Tanev. The commission, whose session was closed to journalists, also instructed the chairman of the Radio and Television Committees to draft declarations by the same date on the work of the institutions entrusted to them during the period until the start of the election campaign. The declarations will be heard at a plenary session of the commission.

BSP Council Members Appointed to Company Boards

AU0808172991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
6 Aug 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Minister Pushkarov Emerges as a Cadre Official of the Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[Text] Recently, according to instructions issued by the Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Services, members of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] have been appointed to the boards of directors of one-person joint stock companies formed under the Commerce Act. In a television interview he gave some time ago, Minister Pushkarov indeed promised something of the sort, because the Socialists, he claimed, knew how to carry out the reform.

However, it is not very clear whether the minister is carrying out his promise or is attempting to soften the effect of the fact that people from his closest entourage are already members of five of six such boards.

The issue is being politicized in a manner I find incomprehensible, declared National Assembly Deputy Dimitur Krustanov, who has also been favored by the minister's gesture. Proposals are made to people competent in their own field, but the above criterion offends them as specialists, added Ovanes Kafedzhiyan, an assistant professor in the Plovdiv branch of the Institute for State and Economic Management under the Council of Ministers.

Some of the persons given new responsibilities were not even asked in advance whether they wanted to assume them. Dimitur Krustanov pointed out that even in totalitarian times cadre decisions were not made in this way.

In the speeches made at the BSP National Conference on 3 August, the affair was described as a provocation.

Lilov Speaks at BSP National Conference

AU0908092391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
3 Aug 91 pp 1, 4

[DUMA staff "summary" of "report" submitted by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council Presidium, to the National Party Conference in Sofia on 2 August]

[Text] Aleksandur Lilov stated as follows in his report to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] National Conference: A party running for elections in a defeatist spirit does not deserve the confidence of its voters. We are participating in the elections with the firm resolve that we should win them. This is the unmistakable goal of the BSP, according to Aleksandur Lilov.

In his report to the BSP National Conference the party's chairman examined the chances for a new election victory. The chances are based on the expanding traditional electorate of the BSP and on the process of sobering that has recently involved broad strata of the working population, on the possibility of forming an election campaign coalition, on our party's specific and pragmatic platform, on its winning candidates, and on an effective election campaign which it is perfectly capable of conducting.

Our response to the crucial topical issues of the day and our own option for their solution—this is the essence of a successful election campaign platform, Aleksandur Lilov stressed. The possibility of easily turning the election platform into a postelection government program and legislative policy is one of its greatest assets. This is the question that is repeatedly asked, sometimes in a rude manner, whether the BSP is capable of ruling the country and what it would do if it should win the elections?

Aleksandur Lilov further examined the situation prevailing in the country on the eve of the elections and analyzed the distribution of political forces in the country.

Aleksandur Lilov pointed out the BSP's successful strategy of peaceful transition in Bulgaria. This is one of our greatest achievements over the last two years. The adoption of the new Constitution was a major success because it represents a barrier against extremism. It consolidates the achievements of the recent past and makes legislative democracy irreversible.

The revival of spirits within the BSP is a positive factor. I think that our forthcoming congress will represent a watershed of the reform under way in the BSP, Lilov stated. Let us leave the internal party problems to the congress. The most important thing today is to win the forthcoming elections, he stressed. Nevertheless, the process of renewal should not be interrupted because of the elections. Hence, our slogan: "Change and Unity."

Political tension has become a permanent feature of our public life, Aleksandur Lilov further pointed out. It is periodically increasing, and the present period is marked by a particularly high degree of tension and unpredictability, which is very dangerous.

We can enumerate three basic sources and major hotbeds of tension that can be described as follows: An increasing deterioration of the economic and social crisis, political extremism, and ethnic confrontation. The combined effect of such hotbeds of tension increases the feeling of insecurity by destabilizing the atmosphere. People become more susceptible to sudden emotional reactions, to unpredictable behavior and actions.

A new element in the general trend of political extremism in our country was introduced by the establishment of an organized political structure of extremism represented by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Movement. It is a fact that the right-wing and extremist groups within the SDS managed to rally and isolated the moderate forces. They took over the local organizational structures and got hold of the Union's financial resources. The SDS-Movement is an extreme right-wing political organization that is, moreover, paralleled by an affiliated trade union organization. It is capable of implementing sinister scenarios. It is unnecessary to paint an excessively gloomy picture, but any disregard for this phenomenon may cause great damage to Bulgaria, Lilov warned.

He also predicted that a "mudslinging" election campaign can be expected that might turn out to be infinitely more reckless than the last one. The BSP will be accused of all kinds of sins and crimes. Such actions are already in the process of preparation, legal claims are voiced, trials are noisily advertised, and confiscations demanded. A "white book" on the crimes of the BSP is being prepared. We can expect various forgeries and pseudofactual propaganda materials, accompanied by lies and slanders against our nominees to appear. The only appropriate reaction to such a mass offensive should be a cool and realistic approach, the chairman of the party recommended.

The stirring of fears and mass psychoses among members and supporters of the BSP is a new element in the opposition's election campaign strategy. Threatening appeals are already launched not by the riffraff of society, but by the leaders of the extreme right-wing opposition forces. This aggressive attitude was also manifested by specially trained groups that are infiltrating Socialist Party rallies.

The process of regrouping in the opposition forces continues, but they have no common strategic interests, Lilov remarked. They are united only by their negativism and by their common desire to remove the BSP from the political scene.

Our party's greatest asset is the fact that it proposes an alternative platform, an alternative policy to the country and to the Bulgarian people. It is the greatest weakness of the SDS that its member-organizations have not and cannot have such a joint platform, they have no clear ideas about the future, and no constructive program, Lilov stated.

At the same time and as a result of our dialogue with all extralegisative parties, a dialogue based on equal rights, the BSP is facing favorable opportunities of forming an election campaign alliance.

Other Parties Commemorate BSP Centennial

AU0808150191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
3 Aug 91 pp 1, 4

[Vanyo Stoilov report from Mount Buzludzha]

[Text] These days, there is room on Mount Buzludzha for all who pay homage to the cause of the first founders of the socialist idea in Bulgaria. Representatives of the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party [Bulgarskata rabotnicheska sotsialdemokraticheska partiya] [BRSDP] were the first to lay their wreath at the founders' memorial. They declared that their party's Membership Book No. 1 had been issued in the name of Dimitur Blagoev. According to Architect Manol Dimitrov, first secretary of the BRSDP Central Committee, the party now has 47,600 members.

The party, which claims that it and no other is the party of Dimitur Blagoev, declares its support for forming a

Bulgarian Peasant and Workers Popular Bloc, and according to its leaders is already holding talks on this issue with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United. It would accept a coalition with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], on the condition of adopting at least 90 percent of its own program, which rejects the exploitation of man by man and uncontrolled privatization. Surprise was expressed that the BSP did not invite BRSDP members to its rallies.

Later, members of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] paid their respects at the memorial, unfurling a large red banner with the hammer and sickle. A festive plenum of the BCP Central Committee was held in the open air, at which First Secretary Vladimir Spasov said that the BCP wants to form a united popular front.

On Saturday 3 August, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] will unveil its own memorial plaque by the founders' memorial, and on Sunday 4 August the BSP will hold its big jubilee celebrations. Representatives of the Federation of Socialist Youth were the first to arrive for the celebrations, and they pitched tents beneath the peak. The preparations for the festival are nearing completion. On Saturday afternoon Socialists from Kazanluk and Gabrovo are organizing a work brigade to clean up the historical sites on Mount Buzludzha.

BSP Wants Party Financing Law Before Elections

*AU0808171391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
5 Aug 91 p 2*

[DUMA report]

[Text] The lack of a comprehensive legal regulation for financing the political parties and public organizations allows the possibility of political activities' being subjugated to different property and financial interests. The practice of political and public organizations' receiving funding from abroad leads to unacceptable foreign interference in the country's domestic political life, concluded the General Party Conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. It recommended that the BSP legislative group present a proposal to the National Assembly for a legislative settlement of these points.

The reason behind this conference decision was the speculations over the BSP's property and the obvious intention to use it during the election campaign.

The party is ready to hold a constructive dialogue with the state authorities and political forces on the problems of the party's property. During 1990 the BSP already handed more than 70 sites over to the community. They are mainly being used for health, educational, and social needs, for local administration and judicial authorities. The party confirms its desire in the future to retain only what is necessary to cover its minimum requirements.

The central party headquarters building in the capital belongs to the BSP, the conference declared. The question of its future use will be discussed and resolved at the forthcoming party congress.

SDS Liberals To Run in Half of Constituencies

*AU0808173191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
6 Aug 91 p 1*

[Rositsa Stoykova report]

[Text] The SDS Liberals will run in the elections with their own list and a platform with specific views that expands upon and further specifies last year's platform. This was stated by Green Party Chairman Aleksandur Karakachanov at a news conference in Sofia on 5 August. He added that the SDS Liberals cannot contend for more than 50 percent of the seats in these elections, but has the ambition to win the next elections.

The leader of the Greens stated: Our aim has always been for the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to run in the elections as a united organization. In the very near future, we will adopt a categorical attitude toward the breakup of the structures of the primary SDS organizations, because this issue concerns not only internal squabbling, but also the country's future.

In the view of the Green Party leadership, the SDS National Movement is responsible for the lack of a decision on the issue of the property of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The struggle of one section of the opposition against another will enable the BSP to win more votes in the elections than it deserves.

Staykov Proposes SDS 'Nonaggression Pact'

*AU0808171591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
5 Aug 91 p 2*

[Mitko Bozhkov report]

[Text] Our appeal to the Group of 39 is to take into consideration the realities of the situation and, if possible, reach an agreement—something like a nonaggression pact to stop the campaign to destroy the parties, organizations, and leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], said Mr. Petur Staykov at a meeting with legislative journalists. They were given information about the activities of the Ecoglasnost Political Club and the legislative initiative of its 15 deputies.

The announcements cropping up here and there that the Ecoglasnost Political Club is some sort of phantom are not true, said Mr. Stefan Gaytandzhiev who is also secretary of the legislative SDS. He recalled that there are 140 Ecoglasnost associations in the country.

All influential politicians and political formations need to unite in a broad democratic coalition, as was stated in an address of the Executive Council and the legislative faction of the Ecoglasnost Political Club. Everything

appears to indicate that the upcoming election campaign will be fiercer than last year's, it was noted in the document.

In Mr. Staykov's opinion, what is happening in the SDS is part of a natural process; the bad thing is that it is developing "in a very Balkan way."

The Sofia City Court did not grant the application of the Executive Council of the Ecoglasnost Independent Association to abolish of the Ecoglasnost Political Club.

Business Bloc Leader Ganchev on Election Campaign

AU0808173591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
6 Aug 91 p 2

[Katya Trendafilova report]

[Text] The Bulgarian Business Bloc [BBB] will run in the elections with its own party list, and its ballot paper will be gold with black lettering. BBB Chairman Zhorzh Ganchev stated at a news conference on 5 August.

Two or three weeks ago, the BBB offices were broken into. Nothing was stolen, but the "visitors" showed interest in the filing cabinets containing documents and inventories. Mr. Ganchev declared that this was only one of the increasingly frequent provocations directed against the BBB. Certain people have realized that big organizations like the Central Cooperative Union and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry are backing us.

The BBB chairman asserted that the unfortunate incidents affecting the BBB were caused by the fact that the BBB wants to emerge as a third force that is to set an example of professionalism and forbearance from making attacks, but clearly a centrist movement frightens many people, he said.

Mr. Ganchev called upon all the political forces to aid the sick National Assembly Deputy Pirin Vodenicharov.

Ilinden Organization Supporters Disrupt Requiem

AU0808170191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
5 Aug 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Provocation of Illegal Ilinden Organization"]

[Text] A small group of supporters of the Macedonian Ilinden Organization were the reason the requiem for those who died in the Ilinden Resurrection-Uprising did not take place in Petrich on 4 August. Despite this, at a rally addressed by Academician Ilcho Dimitrov, homage was paid to the memory of these heroes.

Macedonian Organization Leader Gotsev Interviewed

AU0708105591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
1 Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with Docent Dimitur Gotsev, chairman of the Executive Council of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies by Chavdar Krustev; place and date not given: "Unfinished Tunnels of Balkan Understanding"]

[Excerpts] [Krustev] Docent Gotsev, in Yugoslavia fire-arms are being used against two peoples that have freely expressed their will. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization [VMRO] has already published its own declaration, and announcements have even appeared that you are forming detachments of volunteers to defend the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. Can you add anything to what we already know?

[Gotsev] We are very well aware of the contradictions in this artificially created state and the attempts by the top leaders of Great Serbia to impose its will on the other peoples. This was the case in the past, and unfortunately it continues to be the same today. It will be no surprise if some day soon they repeat in Macedonia what they have already perpetrated in Slovenia and Croatia. International and even Bulgarian public opinion have once again reacted according to some kind of double standards. [passage omitted]

[Krustev] Has VMRO appeared in international forums in order to defend the truth about Macedonia?

[Gotsev] VMRO's activity is better known abroad than in Bulgaria. Inside Bulgaria, the main political forces and ruling circles, chiefly under pressure from the Serbian Embassy—for it is no longer Yugoslav, but Serbian!—are literally keeping us in a news blackout. We are not only developing our national unification, cultural, and educational work inside the country, but are also carrying out an immense amount of scientific and political work outside the country in order to preserve Bulgarian national unity and the country's territorial integrity.

At an international youth meeting in Strasbourg last year, we handed over a memorandum on behalf of the Macedonian Bulgarians, and this was received with an admonishment because the truth had not been disclosed before then. Our delegation also attended the Copenhagen meeting on the human dimensions of the European processes. There we employed a wide range of documentation to defend our position regarding Macedonia and its past, present, and future development. The amazement expressed was incredible—how could this truth exist in document form without the world knowing about it?! We were strongly advised to seek all possible channels to popularize this truth and widely inform world public opinion on Macedonia's problems. Last year, our delegation attended for the first time the congress of the Macedonian Patriotic Organizations in America. We met again after a separation of almost 60

years. We restored our mutual trust in one another. Now, they will support our initiatives and popularize them on the American continent and throughout the world.

I repeat, we have achieved something that our state should have done. At the moment, our delegation is in Geneva at the conference on issues concerning the rights of minorities. We expect that the Serbian representatives will once again seek to find "Macedonian" and "Serbian" minorities in Bulgaria. We will reply to them not with propaganda, but with authentic documents. More than 20,000 Bulgarians perished as victims of their national self-consciousness. For the same reason, more than 150,000 people passed through the harsh inquisitions at the camps in Idrizovo, Goli Otok, and throughout Yugoslavia, and this at a time when this country represented itself to the world as the only democratic country in East Europe. This is a tragedy of a nation that awaits a small glimmer of freedom in order to return to its brothers.

[Krustev] You said "glimmer," and I immediately thought of the political metaphor about "light at the end of the tunnel." Near Gyueshevo there exists a real tunnel that is simply unfinished—it is the last barrier on the railroad between Skopje and Sofia. Do you think that

there is any hope of our hearing soon the whistles of locomotives on this shortest route between Bulgaria and Vardar Macedonia?

[Gotsev] If there are enough sensible politicians and statesmen on both sides of this artificial barrier, they should realize that all the tunnels should be completed! [passage omitted]

[Krustev] In your speech to the Great Macedonian Convention in Blagoevgrad, you mentioned that the Bulgarian nationality problem can only be solved within the framework of the all-European processes of integration. Was this merely an incidental remark?

[Gotsev] We share the view of a united Europe. This is the way by which we can find mutual understanding with our neighbors, without even exchanging a single harsh word. Let us remove these borders and ditches that separate brothers and peoples. We cannot advance toward Europe with tanks. We have already completed our part of the road. It now remains for the Great Serbia supporters to understand this, to grant freedom to Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and others, and to stop obstructing the entire Balkan peninsula in its advance toward Europe. All the Balkan peoples need to work together in order to draw us closer to Europe, otherwise we will steadily draw closer to the Orient.

Constitutional Law on Referendum Published

91CH0792A Bratislava VEREJNOST
in Slovak 31 Jul 91 p 6

[“Text” of the Constitutional Law on the Referendum]

[Text] On 18 July 1991, the Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic passed the Constitutional Law No. 327/1991, CSFR legal gazette, on the referendum.

ARTICLE 1

Section 1. In the referendum, citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic can be asked fundamental questions on the constitutional arrangement of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

Section 2. The issue of the Czech Republic or the Slovak Republic seceding from the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic can be decided only by a referendum.

Section 3. In the Czech Republic, the right to vote belongs to anyone who has the right to vote for the Czech National Council. In the Slovak Republic, the right to vote belongs to anyone who has the right to vote for the Slovak National Council.

ARTICLE 2

Section 1. The referendum shall be called by the president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic by means of a notice in the legal gazette.

ARTICLE 3

Section 1. The president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic shall call the referendum concurrently in both republics when it is proposed to him by the Federal Assembly, following a statement by the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council, within 15 days after the transmission of the proposal.

Section 2. The president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic shall call the referendum according to Article 1, Section 2 in the Czech Republic at the recommendation of the Czech National Council, and in the Slovak Republic at the recommendation of the Slovak National Council, within 15 days after the recommendation is made.

Section 3. The president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic can reject the proposal for calling the referendum according to Sections 1 and 2, if the proposed questions, which are to be asked in the referendum, are not unequivocal or understandable. In such a case, he shall return the proposal with comments to the appropriate legislative body. If the given legislative body insists on the original questions, the president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic shall call the referendum within 15 days of the second transmission of the proposal.

Section 4. The referendum shall take place within 90 days of the day when the president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic received the proposal according to Sections 1, 2, or 3.

ARTICLE 4

A referendum according to this constitutional law may take place no later than five months before elections to the Federal Assembly and the National Councils.

ARTICLE 5

Section 1. The proposal presented in the referendum according to Article 3, Section 1, passes if an absolute majority of voters in each republic votes in favor of it.

Section 2. The proposal presented in the referendum according to Article 3, Section 2, passes if an absolute majority of voters in each republic votes in favor of it.

Section 3. The decision passed in the referendum conducted according to the provision in Article 3, Section 1, shall be announced by the Presidium of the Federal Assembly in the law gazette, the same as the laws of the Federal Assembly; the decision passed in the referendum conducted according to the provision in Article 3, Section 2, shall be announced by the Presidiums of National Councils of the Republics in the law gazette same as the laws of the National Councils.

Section 4. The Constitutional Court of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic shall examine, at the request of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly or the Presidiums of the National Councils, the constitutionality of the referendum procedure before it is called.

Section 5. A referendum carried out according to this law may be repeated on the same issue in five years at the earliest.

ARTICLE 6

Section 1. The result of the referendum, called according to Article 1, Section 1, has the binding character of a constitutional law.

Section 2. If the proposal according to Article 1, Section 2 is approved at least in one of the republics, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic will cease to exist in one year after the result of the referendum is announced; its activities are then transferred to the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, in whose institutions the sovereignty will then be located.

Section 3. A constitutional law of the Federal Assembly shall determine the manner of transferring the property from the ownership of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Similarly, it will determine the division of state financial assets and liabilities of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, foreign exchange reserves, federal material reserves, and the property of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic located outside its territory.

ARTICLE 7

The law of the Federal Assembly determines the manner of implementation of the referendum.

ARTICLE 8

Section 1. The Constitutional Law No. 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak Federation and existing constitutional laws are amended thus:

a. In Article 41, after the words "and for changing them" are inserted the words "for accepting the proposal for calling a referendum."

b. In Article 58, Paragraph 1, after the word "federation" are inserted the words "debating a resolution on the proposal for calling a referendum."

Section 2. Constitutional Law No. 100/1960 of the legal gazette on the Constitution of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and existing constitutional laws are amended thus:

In Article 2, Section 2, the period after the word "vote" is substituted by a comma, and at the end the words "and by popular vote (referendum)" are added.

ARTICLE 9

This constitutional law goes into force on the day it is announced.

Chief Prosecutor on 17 November Investigation

AU0808162991 Prague CTK in English 1324 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The Czechoslovak chief military prosecutor, Colonel Miroslav Krizenecky, told CTK today his office has so far been unable to prove that Federal Interior Ministry officials manipulated the student demonstration on November 17, 1989, which set off a chain of events leading to the collapse of the communist regime.

The office has been investigating the brutal police action against peaceful demonstrators in central Prague since the end of 1989.

Krizenecky said 35 persons have been prosecuted, 21 police officers were put on trial and some are facing disciplinary action. Legal proceedings have been started against two commanders responsible for the police intervention, former Lieutenant Colonel Michal Danisevic and former Major Bedrich Houbal.

Krizenecky confirmed that Lieutenant Ludvik Zifcak infiltrated student circles under the name "Ruzicka" and diverted the demonstrators into the arms of the police. Krizenecky called Zifcak's actions unlawful. However, Zifcak's claim that the police attack on the demonstrators was prepared beforehand could not be substantiated. Legal proceedings against him were stopped for lack of evidence.

Krizenecky said his office has materials from the archives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Federal Government Presidium Office which indicate that at a party presidium session Miroslav Stepan proposed the arbitrary detention of 18 dissidents. (Stepan was chief secretary of the Communist Party Prague Municipal Committee at the time. He was later sentenced to a two-and-a-half-year prison term for abuse of power by a public official.) The Civil Prosecutor's Office will investigate Stepan's possible criminal responsibility.

Miklosko on Possible Political Crisis in Slovakia

AU0908080991 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 7 Aug 91 p 1

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by Ivo Slavik; place and date not given]

[Text] [Slavik] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia stated recently that Slovakia is on the brink of political and power confrontation. Is that true?

[Miklosko] I have read about this. I believe that it is not a coincidence that this was said. It was intentional. We are on the brink of confrontation, and this movement apparently has an interest in bringing this about. I get many indications that this movement intends to make an attempt at certain reversals. It particularly wants to rid the government coalition—and, of course, the Slovak National Council Presidium—of the Public Against Violence movement. I can see this from certain indications. Of course, they say that if the confrontation is to come, then let it take place today; that is, let their wish be fulfilled. I also think that a serious clash is coming. Each political party will have to seriously make up its mind to whom they will give their vote, since developments in Slovakia and in Czechoslovakia will go in this direction then.

I believe that the Christian Democratic Party representatives will be the decisive element in the legislature. They, in particular, will have to realize the seriousness of the situation, and it is possible that they will have to make their standpoint clear—they should not mix up national matters with something else. It should not happen that they, under the veil of "national" matters, allow the return of the ways and methods that should be behind us for ever.

Czech Prime Minister Responds to Slovak Comments

LD0908042891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2000 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart has responded to last night's reaction by members of the Slovak Government and Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky to the questions raised by Petr Pithart himself on the radio last Tuesday:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Prime Minister, your Slovak colleague, Mr. Carnogursky, last night reopened three problems, the first one of which is the notion about the year 2000. How does the Czech representation view this horizon?

[Pithart] I do not like to say it, but I have the feeling that after last night's television appearance by Prime Minister Carnogursky, everything has become obscured and blurred again. Perhaps I will succeed in explaining it.

The prime minister directly asked why we mind so much and why we are so provoked by the idea that Slovakia will enter the integrated Europe of the year 2000 as an independent and equal nation. Europe is now being integrated. In less than a year and a half, no frontiers will exist in its western part. In 2000 it will not be possible to talk about an independent existence of states, let alone sovereignty. Such a notion is, in my view, principally flawed. I have the feeling that the Slovak side, or Mr. Carnogursky, wants to tell us something else. It seems to me that they want to give us bad news piecemeal so that we can get used to it. I believe that the year 2000 is not the issue, that Mr. Carnogursky apparently desires to bring relations between both republics to a minimum, to bring the Federation to minimum, and to bring about a split of the republics substantially earlier, because the Europe of 2000 will not know independent states; it will not know frontiers and sovereignty. What Mr. Carnogursky says makes no sense to me; therefore, I am looking for something different.

[Reporter] The word confederation was heard once again last night, perhaps emphatically, or perhaps less emphatically. How did you hear it yourself?

[Pithart] This was a great disappointment for me because I was, perhaps, not on my own in believing that the majority of those who took part in the talks in Kromeriz, including the Slovak side, including the prime minister, bid farewell to the idea of a confederation. Yesterday he admitted once again that the matter is not clear and that the Slovak Republic has not yet spoken on the matter. He himself could have spoken. I do not believe that the idea of a confederation is taken seriously. Once again, I have the feeling that this is bad news given piecemeal. We all know this from life. There are instances when two cohabiting partners decide to take the plunge and get married and thus a confederation becomes a federation. This does not, however, operate in reverse for a married couple to divorce and decide to live as common-law husband and wife; that is a looser bond. This is very unlikely. Once again, I ask directly what is really meant by this. It is true that, at the talks in Kromeriz, the Czech political representation conceded one confederative principle. They conceded it reluctantly. It was a compromise. We had the feeling that this concession would be met by a concession by the other side. That principle of confederation would have meant that the Federal Assembly would have decided voluntarily to submit the approved constitution to the national councils, but in this instance, it would

have been for the first and last time. I firmly believe that the idea of a confederation was excluded definitely at the talks in Kromeriz.

[Reporter] The terms national and civic were also raised last night. These are terms that not many people understand as they have been interpreted. How do you understand them yourself?

[Pithart] Prime Minister Carnogursky said that people in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia—in the Czech Republic—prefer the civic principle before the national one. He said that in Slovakia it is the opposite. He went on to ask why we mind. We do not want to say that the national principle is reactionary, or that people should not think in terms of a nation. When we are talking in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia about the language, history, and culture, we are talking in terms of a nation. The issue here is on what foundations are we to build the state, what is to be the foundation of the state, what is to form the foundation of the edifice of the state. If we build the edifice on a national principle, we will in effect, build it on something that divides people. We will commit a somewhat risky act because in Europe, in Central Europe in particular, as a rule—on the territory occupied by one nation—it is not the only nation living there; people of other nationalities also live there. In such cases, they become, whether it is wanted or not, second class citizens. This is the second problem of a nationally conceived state. We do not want to reject the idea of a nation. We merely believe that modern Europe has, a long time ago and after truly bad experiences, given up the idea of building the state edifice on a national basis. Look what this is doing to present-day Yugoslavia: There are Serbs living in the territory of Croatia. In such a case, this only provides an explosive charge to the foundation of such a state, and it is merely a question of when that charge explodes.

This is why we believe that the federation, or as the case may be, the future federal state, should be based on what links us and not what divides us, which is precisely the civic principle. This is the very principle on which Europe is integrating—the Europe into which Mr. Carnogursky wants to enter with Slovakia—with his own little chair and his own little star, which is based on a civic principle. [end recording]

Interior Ministry Screenings Reportedly Falsified

AU0808120591 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 1 Aug 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Petr Cibulka Accuses a Minister"]

[Text] At yesterday's news conference, Bohdan Dvorak, Club of Nonaligned Activists chairman, affirmed that no disagreements have arisen between the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Club of Nonaligned Activists that would mean a dissolution of their coalition. He also commented on the integration attempts of the right-wing parties. He said that he expects a consolidation under the Civic Democratic Party umbrella.

Petr Cibulka, a member of the Club of Nonaligned Activists who works in the Brno civic commission, criticized Czech Interior Minister Tomas Sokol and the work of the civic commission at the ministry. "We have proof that the civic commission at the Czech Ministry of the Interior, headed by Chairman Ladislav Tonar, failed completely because Tonar was discovered to have been a State Security agent of long standing," Petr Cibulka announced. According to him, the full-scale screening at the ministry was falsified. In addition, he said that Director of the Czech Police Frantisek Zelenicky blocks any attempt at replacing even the most discredited people in the regional or municipal administrations. He also influences the ministry's leadership, and it seems that Tomas Sokol is not able to control the situation. The documents referred to by Petr Cibulka contain the correspondence of the Zlin civic commission and Captain Zak with the ministry, in which they pointed out the situation and asked for help several months ago. Unfortunately, Tomas Sokol was unable to respond in any positive way. According to Cibulka, there are signs that members of the mafia were under pressure from the center to keep their hands off certain things.

Poll Views Trust in Havel, Regional Governments

LD0808172191 Prague CTK in English 1421 GMT
8 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 8 (CTK)—72 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens trust President Vaclav Havel, according to a poll conducted in July by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research.

Trust in Havel is far more widespread in the Czech Republic (84 per cent) than in the Slovak Republic (48 per cent), where half the population does not trust him.

While the majority of the population in the Czech Republic (61 per cent) trust their regional government, only 30 per cent of the people in Slovakia feel the same way about theirs.

When Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Chairman Jan Carnogursky replaced Vladimir Meciar as premier in April, the Slovak government's popularity rating plummeted from 69 to 22 per cent.

While 60 per cent of Czechs trust the federal government, in Slovakia 63 per cent of respondents said they did not trust the central leadership in Prague.

51 per cent of respondents in the Czech Republic and 59 per cent in Slovakia said they did not trust the Federal Assembly (parliament).

65 per cent of the 1,133 people polled believed Czechoslovak foreign policy is increasing the country's prestige abroad, and 49 per cent said it is positively influencing the domestic economy. 53 per cent said Czechoslovakia is becoming economically dependent on Germany.

56 per cent of respondents said church property confiscated under the communist regime should be returned.

In the Czech Republic, 41 per cent of people in Bohemia and 37 per cent in Moravia said they were proud to consider themselves Czechoslovaks, against only 27 per cent in Slovakia.

Three-quarters of respondents said that, given a choice, Czechoslovakia is the country they would live in.

Commentary on Viability of HZDS-KDH Coalition

AU0808172591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 5 Aug 91 p 3

[Julius Gembicky commentary: "New Love Affairs and Marriages of Convenience? First Dates on the Road to Pre-Election Engagements Are Being Arranged"]

[Text] Particularly those for whom the results of the latest pre-election polls do not bode well keep stressing that opinion surveys need not be treated as a fetish. Orthodox Public Against Violence [VPN] adherents, in particular, whose movement enjoys the support of only 5 percent of the electorate, as it is about to transform itself into a liberal right-wing party, naturally pooh-pooh the unfavorable statistical prognosis. They have not found among Slovaks the same support that the VPN's [Czech] political and programmatic counterpart—Vaclav Klaus' Civic Democratic Party—has found among Czechs. This is why they are, so far unofficially, proposing an engagement to the Democratic Party and the Liberal Democrats. Naturally, although the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] goes against their grain on two fundamental programmatic points (the constitutional setup and the course of radical economic reform), they are banking on its [KDH's] inclination to sustain the coalition even after the elections only to condemn the, for the VPN unacceptable, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to the opposition.

Despite the support from 39 percent of voters [in the latest opinion polls], the HZDS is sending out its feelers, 10 months before next year's elections, to sound out which political partner would be the most suitable one for a coalition, because even the greatest optimists from the movement apparently no longer count on an absolute majority and on forming a majority government. Perhaps that would not even be good for our political system, which is actually just taking shape, despite citizens' impatience. In a nascent multiparty society, the ability to accept coalition compromises is a useful school of democracy, making it impossible for any political entity having a majority to impose its will on the others and, by the same token, curtailing the possible power ambitions of fuehrer types.

It is a Slovak paradox that it is precisely the HZDS, which enjoys the greatest favor among voters, that has not received, after the VPN's split, any attractive propositions for a possible pre-election or post-election marriage from a suitable partner. The Party of the Democratic Left is out of the question, because of the suspicion of its too-leftist orientation, and the HZDS also has

inhibitions against the Slovak National Party because of its clearly formulated demand for an independent Slovak state, despite the fact that, while in the opposition, the HZDS has managed, in the mathematically intricate legislative voting machinery, to form pragmatic alliances with both above-mentioned parties.

As for legislative parties represented in the government, the Democratic Party looked like a promising partner for the HZDS after the VPN's metamorphosis. After undergoing internal upheavals, however, the Democratic Party stopped toying with that idea and agreed on further coexistence with its partners in the government coalition. Following their divorce, the HZDS is naturally separated by a wide gap from the VPN. Moreover, contacts between the two are made even more complicated by legal disputes about property. Hence, however paradoxical it may sound, the KDH is the sole partner with which the HZDS can possibly reckon. Even though the two camps have been hurling invectives at each other, attacking one another, and exchanging allegations, their ideas on the issue of Czechoslovakia's future setup and on the course of the economic transformation are very close. The KDH's original idea of a confederative model, which the KDH has been formulating more cautiously since Jan Carnogursky became prime minister, is close to a group of HZDS representatives (M. Knazko, A.M. Huska). Equally close to

one another are their concepts of a reform with social elements and regulatory state interventions.

The confrontational relations between their leading representatives [HZDS Chairman Meciar and KDH Chairman Carnogursky], however, impede the two movements' rapprochement for the time being. However, they will not be the only ones who will have an influence on the possible post-election marriage of convenience between the two largest movements, both of which will undergo further transformations and internal differentiation in time horizons that are hard to predict. Much will become more transparent after the KDH's assembly in October. Whereas HZDS Deputy Chairman Milan Knazko has clearly accentuated the possibility of a coalition with the KDH, Prime Minister Carnogursky has so far dismissed this idea as pre-election speculation. Apparently, it goes against the KDH's grain that, from among the parties on the Czech political scene, the HZDS has shown the greatest affinity for Komarek's Social Democrats and for individual personalities of the Civic Movement. The KDH regards this as an unacceptable shift to the left of this movement, which has been outwardly proclaiming centrist positions. Yet, it is apparent that in the pragmatic fusions within the pre-election struggle, such partialities will not be taken into account. We are in for a fall full of mysterious political dates and engagements.

Finance Minister Kupa on Taxation, Inflation*AU0908084291 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 6 Aug 91 p 5*

[Interview with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by Janos Czingerber; in Veszprem, on 5 August: "Only Tax Concepts Exist"]

[Text] "Before anyone asks me, I will tell you that pensions and foreign currency accounts will not be taxed and the 500,000-forint tax concession for small-scale agricultural producers will be kept;" Mihaly Kupa started his speech with these words at the Veszprem Summer University on 5 August.

The program of the one-week event is based on the theme of public administration and local government management. Interior Minister Peter Boross and Mihaly Kupa spoke about relevant issues in their introductory speeches. Our correspondent asked Mihaly Kupa about the controversial news on taxation changes:

[Czingerber] You have stated again that the concessions for small agricultural producers would not be changed and pensions and foreign currency accounts would not be taxed. How is it possible that information coming from the Finance Ministry is diametrically opposed to this?

[Kupa] There are many concepts, and each has many variations. If you ask a tax expert, he would say that everything has to be taxed.

[Czingerber] Does this mean that the authenticity of the concept published in newspapers can be questioned?

[Kupa] No, that was authentic material prepared by experts, but the government and assembly have yet to see this....

[Czingerber] Is it possible that even your Ministry does not have a unified opinion? After all, you contradicted many points in this concept.

[Kupa] Today, the Ministry's opinion is not the relevant question; the question is what possibilities we have to improve the tax system.

[Czingerber] My next question refers to the possibly most important sentence of your speech here, which said: Local governments can expect a 28 to 30-percent increase in state subsidies, and that will be much greater than the level of inflation. On what basis did you say that inflation would be reduced so drastically?

[Kupa] I think it is very likely that inflation will be in the region of 20 to 23 percent in 1992, and I base this on the fact that we have market prices, we have liberalized imports, and a market economy has begun to operate in Hungary.

[Czingerber] What level of inflation do you predict for the whole of 1991?

[Kupa] Do not ask about this; I do not know.... It will be high. It might be three percentage points less than the expected level.

Poll Shows Public Distrust, Dissatisfaction*LD0908101791 Budapest MTI in English 0915 GMT
9 Aug 91*

[Text] Budapest, August 9 (MTI)—The general public has reservations about the work of the Hungarian Government, to the point of positive dissatisfaction. The majority of people still don't trust the government to put the country on the right path, a survey conducted by the Hungarian Gallup Institute proved in July. The survey sought to sound out the opinions of the public on the work of the government and the prime minister. The poll's findings are carried in the Friday issue of the Hungarian daily 'UJ MAGYARORSZAG' (NEW HUNGARY).

Jozsef Antall's prime ministerial activities are termed mediocre by most people. Fifty per cent of those asked were unable to name a single politician 'who could definitely be expected to promote the country's progress'. Those mentioned most frequently, however, included Prime Minister Jozsef Antall (nearly 30 per cent), former Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, currently chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament, Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa, President Arpad Goncz and former Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

The Hungarian Gallup Institute had previously conducted surveys on the same topic in May and June 1991. The results show a consistency in the public's view of the government and the prime minister's work, with the percentage of positive and negative outlooks remaining unchanged in the course of the past three months.

In answer to the question, 'To what extent do you trust the government to put the country on the right path?' in July, 21 per cent of those asked said 'to a very small extent', while 34 per cent said, 'better distrust, than trust'. Amongst those giving positive feedback, the majority trust the government though with some reservations, while four per cent of those interviewed trust the government absolutely or to a very large extent. Four per cent of respondents refused to answer the questions.

Torgyan Comments on Smallholders' Working Program*AU0808164591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 5 Aug 91 p 3*

[MTI report: "Torgyan Is Ready To Meet Thurmer"]

[Text] Chairman Jozsef Torgyan said at his news conference in Miskolc on 4 August that the working program of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], that summarizes the tasks to be solved until spring 1994, has been prepared.

According to the program, the leaders of the FKgP will in the future visit two counties each week to study the local problems and tasks and to consult with the local leaders of the FKgP and state leaders. By doing so, they hope that the FKgP's work will become more practical and that they will be able to help solve local problems more easily by learning about them immediately.

The FKgP chairman announced that the party's detailed program would be compiled by the FKgP's first national congress to be held on 17 November 1991. Apart from the consistent implementation of the Compensation Law, an important part of the detailed program will be the FKgP's plan to represent the interests of laborer owners, in addition to representing small and medium-sized ownership and small and big businesses. According to Torgyan, as a result of all this, the FKgP will open a front that could be a determining factor in Hungarian political life.

Answering a question, Torgyan said that he had learned on 4 August that Gyula Thurmer, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, wants to meet him to discuss agricultural matters. He would not refuse to meet Thurmer, but it is up to the party's leadership to decide on this, Torgyan pointed out.

New Leftist Unity Movement Founded

AU0808164391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 5 Aug 91 p 7

[Interview with Laszlo Udvarhelyi, founder and chairman of the Leftist Unity Movement, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Second Change of Regime!"]

[Text] Laszlo Udvarhelyi told us: "New political forces will soon emerge in Hungary, and they could even be very successful at the next elections." We asked Udvarhelyi why he had launched a new political movement at a time when most people have had enough of political parties:

[Udvarhelyi] Power practically fell into the laps of today's legislative parties—particularly the two largest parties, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]—because the progressive elite of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] concluded a compromise with them. The governing parties never won any real legitimacy, and now they are even losing their remaining followers. The government simply does not take realities into account; it is governing from "Cloud-Cuckoo-Land." Now, a few people have realized that you need to make yourself understood by ordinary people (that is what Torgyan [chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party] is doing in his own right-wing populist way, and that is what Pozsgay [co-chairman of the National Democratic Alliance] is attempting to do with his center-right movement). We also need a left-wing force, founded on a strong basis and armed with a national program—hence the Leftist Unity Movement [Baloldali Egysegmozgalom].

[NEPSZABADSAG] Could other left-wing parties fill the vacuum?

[Udvarhelyi] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] was monopolized by the second row of the former Kadar leadership. They were already given the chance to govern once, but they did not succeed. Moreover, they have now imported a northern-style social democratic ideology that simply does not stand a chance in our circumstances.

The MSZMP has great moral capital, but one cannot politicize on the basis of clichés that are (at least) 40 years old. As for the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP], it is not even worth talking about.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How much better would the Leftist Unity Movement's [BEM] chances be?

[Udvarhelyi] It is of fundamental importance that the BEM present a left-wing national program. We think that the most important issue in this country is the property issue. The widest circles in Hungarian society should be given property. That is why we are not against the compensation law. However, we think it is important that not only farmers, but also workers, be given property. This could be done by giving workers 30 percent of the shares (for free) when factories are privatized. In practice, we need a second change of regime, allowing us to build a modern popular state on the basis of a mixed economy.

Foreign Ministry Official on Romanian Issues

AU0908071591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 6 Aug 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Imre Szokai, deputy state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas; place and date not given: "Szokai: To Negotiate to the Very End"]

[Excerpts] As far as possible, Hungarian diplomacy does its share in the international efforts to settle problems in areas beyond our borders. We asked Imre Szokai, who is responsible for the neighboring countries in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, to inform us of the Hungarian view on some current issues: [passage omitted]

[Farkas] The Romanian Foreign Ministry has indicated twice already that they expect an answer from Budapest to the draft agreement they sent. What is the situation in connection with this?

[Szokai] I would not only concentrate on this draft alone, in the area of Hungarian-Romanian relations. Several other initiatives have been made by the Hungarian side. I myself have handed over six concrete suggestions to the Romanian ambassador in the last two weeks. We have only received an answer to one of them—namely, that the Romanian side agreed to open temporary border

crossings for the time of the Papal visit. Many of our earlier political, economic, and cultural suggestions are still standing, waiting for a reaction.

The Romanian side has, indeed, recently forwarded to us an actual draft of our bilateral basic agreement. We also have to consider the fact that, for example, I handed over two draft documents to President Iliescu in Bucharest in November 1990; one of them had to do with the issues of our relations, and the other was a suggestion for a Hungarian-Romanian minority statement. We are very thoroughly studying the material we received from them a week ago, and as soon as we finish with that and have made the necessary counter-suggestions, we will be ready for further negotiations. In the meantime, we are still expecting a definite decision on, for example, our proposals on relaying television programs or restoring the consulate in Kolozsvár [Cluj]. Some other proposals have also been made in connection with the latter, and we do not object to the establishment of consulates in Arad, Nagyszeben [Satu Mare], or Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures], but these cannot present an alternative to Kolozsvár, where there has already been a consulate that was closed down one-sidedly and unlawfully.

Article Views Situation of Moldovan Hungarians

AU0808145491 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 7 Aug 91 p 4

[Report by Aranka Rehak: "Csangos Speak Hungarian"]

[Text] "People cried at the first meeting of the Csango [Hungarian-speaking ethnic group in Moldova] Association; Csangos were able to step forward for all the world to see. They wanted schools and church services in Hungarian. Then they lost their enthusiasm. Hungarians in Moldova have grown used to being led, and they are afraid," Janos Farkas, deputy chairman of the Csango Association formed in 1990, tells us at a dance hall and music camp in Jaszbereny that hosted Csangos from Moldova this year. The 30-year-old metallurgical engineer gave up his job to devote all his energy to the uniting of Hungarians in Moldova. Farkas is one of the leaders of a small Csango intelligentsia. He thinks that the association's most important task at the moment is to inform Csangos that they are Hungarians, Csango Hungarians. Indeed before the revolution (military coup - Janos Farkas comments), no one was allowed to talk about this.

"We are Csangos, and we do not speak Hungarian—that is what you hear in Moldova," the deputy chairman tells us. "We have to give them their faith and their self-confidence back; we have to tell them that the language they speak is comprehensible for Hungarians. The floods served one good purpose: When the Szeklers [ethnic Hungarians living in Romania] arrived to help us, the Csangos in Moldova realized that they understood their language."

There has not been a Hungarian school in Moldova for more than 40 years. The Hungarians have no library or radio program. The association is now publishing a newspaper. The children—47 of them this year—can attend Hungarian schools in Transylvania. They cannot expect any Hungarian-speaking vicars because the vicars from their community who studied in Iasi have to conduct mass in Romanian. In any case, they forget to speak Csango, so they come back to their homeland. Janos Farkas calls them "Janissaries."

The Csangos have turned to Hungarian political parties, organizations, and cultural institutions for help, but they can expect help primarily from Hungarians in Transylvania, who live closer to the Csangos, and who are in a very similar situation, from several points of view, including education. Young Csangos can now study at Hungarian universities. "Surely we will not lose all of them," Janos Farkas says.

Farkas also turns to NEPSZABADSAG with a request, namely that we should let people know that the Csangos are looking for twin villages.

"Hungarians in Moldova live primarily in villages," Farkas tells us, "and women and children are the ones who spend the most time at home. Many of the men who commute to a factory only come home to their families once a month. The women used to work in cooperatives. Now they have been given their own land, and they know how to work it, but they are not yet used to selling the grain themselves; they do not know how to do this.

"It would be nice if they could gain as much experience as possible from Hungary—which is given a bad reputation in the Romanian press anyway."

Janos Farkas does not add what the Hungarian twin villages could gain from their visit to Moldova: A picture of old Hungarian culture, clothes, and language—and these are almost falling into oblivion in Hungary itself.

Ministry Declines To Release Informers' Names

LD0808193191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1700 GMT 08 Aug 91

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs will not reveal to Solidarity which of the union's members were former Secret Service informers, Deputy Minister Jan Widacki stated today. The documents left behind by the Security Service are not reliable and publishing lists based on them would condemn hundreds of innocent people to a civic and political death, Jan Widacki said at a meeting of the Government-Solidarity Law Observance Affairs group.

Statistical Office Releases Unemployment Figures

LD0808162291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1200 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] The Main Statistical Office reports that at the end of July, the number of unemployed registered at job centers was over 1,749,000, of which 912,000 were women. As in June, the most unemployment was recorded in the Suwalki, Olsztyn, Ciechanow, Jelenia Gora, Koszalin, Lodz, and Elblag voivodships. A low level of unemployment continues in the Warsaw metropolitan, Krakow, Katowice, Poznan and Wroclaw voivodships. Compared to June, the number of unemployed rose in July by another 175,000. People made redundant for reasons involving work enterprises constituted over 20 percent of the total unemployment figure.

Solidarity 80 Leader on Nation's Troubles

LD0808195391 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Interview with Solidarity 80 Chairman Marian Jurczyk, by unidentified Warsaw radio correspondent, in Warsaw on 8 August—recorded]

[Text] President Lech Walesa today received Marian Jurczyk, the Solidarity 80 chairman, in the Belweder Palace.

[Begin recording] [Jurczyk] I think today's meeting will probably bear some kind of fruit. My duty as a trade unionist is to present first-hand information to the highest leader in this nation. The impoverishment of society worsens daily. The government's economic policy is very incompetent. People are being thrown out onto the street, industry is being destroyed, Polish agriculture is being destroyed. I would like to be wrong, but probably if the government's economic policy is not changed in a correct direction, there's not much time, there might be an outburst of social unrest, revolt.

[Reporter] How did the President receive those words?

[Jurczyk] He agreed. He received it as being credible. But the question of the registration of Solidarity 80 was very important. The President—and I don't deny, much to my surprise—went to great lengths to say that he would

do everything for registration to take place as soon as possible. The President also expressed satisfaction that Solidarity 80 is running independently in the parliamentary elections.

The President openly said that things are happening that he had not anticipated. He wants help in some way. Quite simply, he has no clout. He is as if isolated. He quite simply has not got the people, and he openly appealed for certain help; if we have got such people, he would willingly use them. Thus I think that what the president told me was dictated by concern for our nation. [end recording]

Groups Form Coalitions for Electoral Campaign

LD0908050991 Warsaw PAP in English 2324 GMT
8 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 8—Representatives of the Polish Peasant-Christian Forum "Ojcowizna" (Patrimony), the Citizens' Committees, and the Centre Alliance met in Warsaw on Tuesday to finally start cooperation under a joint election committee named the Citizens' Centre Alliance, POC.

Meanwhile, the founding congress of the association "Christian-Democratic Peasant Forum" decided to join the POC because the principles in the POC declaration "deserve full support," as they put it.

Another coalition, called Republican, was joined by the Party of Christian Democrats.

RDS Leader Bujak on Election Planning

LD0808182191 Warsaw PAP in English 1633 GMT
8 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, August 8—"Our aim is the speedy reconstruction of the Polish economy and the defence of the interests of workers currently in the state sector, while, at the same time, supporting privatization processes," said Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the Democratic-Social Movement (RDS), at a press conference on Thursday.

Bujak announced that RDS hoped to contest every electoral district in Poland. The movement was holding pre-election discussions with many organisations, and was currently working on regional election programmes, with a view to tackling the problems of small towns, the countryside and agriculture.

He said that RDS would publish a detailed economic programme 6 weeks before the elections, scheduled for October, and that 3 weeks after this, it would publish its proposed cabinet. Bujak said that he did not wish to take part in "auctions" with other parliamentary parties over the number of cabinet seats per party, and would enter into coalition with those parties which would accept a non-party government of experts.

He also announced an election cooperation agreement with Izabela Nowacka, leader of the League of Polish

Women. "Participation by women in the public life of the country is currently too low," he said. "We want as many women as possible to appear on our electoral lists."

'Patrimony' Forum Holds Founding Congress

AU0808171991 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Aug 91 p 3

[*"F.F."* report: "'Patrimony' Founding Congress"]

[Text] The "Patrimony" ["Ojcowizna"] People's Christian Forum held its founding-programmatic congress in Warsaw on 4 August. Over 200 delegates voted in favor of the Forum's joining any coalition that serves the interests of Poland and the Forum itself. A final decision on such a coalition will be made by 12 August by Forum Chairman Roman Bartoszcze and the Political Council.

Reports that "Patrimony" had entered into an election alliance with the "Solidarity" Polish Peasant Party and Private Farmers' "Solidarity" have turned out to be false. "Patrimony" would first have to join the "People's Accord" National Electoral Committee. Bartoszcze denied that an agreement on forming a coalition was already concluded on Wednesday. "I am in favor of a three-party coalition, and I expressed this desire on Wednesday," he said. "But the National Electoral Committee still consists of two parties. We expect 'Patrimony' to join by 12 August."

Gabriel Janowski [chairman of the National Council of Private Farmers' "Solidarity"], who was present at the Congress, said: "I was dismayed to hear Roman Bartoszcze say that the Forum may go into the elections alone. I think an alliance is the best solution."

In his speech, Jan Olszewski [Center Accord chairman] called for unity of the peasant movement and an end to the disputes between Solidarity forces. "The election struggle must be fought not among ourselves, but against the vestiges of communism in Poland," he said. "The interests of Polish rural areas are no longer different from those of the nation as a whole."

Kornel Morawiecki [chairman of the Freedom Party] criticized the state's policies and described the country's situation as catastrophic. We asked whether "Solidarity 80" is considering an alliance with "Patrimony." "Roman Bartoszcze's party has strong anticommunist leanings. That is what unites us and makes it feasible to hold talks on the subject of common aims," he replied.

The Congress also passed a resolution to undertake efforts to have the ashes of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk [prewar Polish Peasant Party leader] brought back to Poland.

Sejm Commission Meets With Lithuanian Legislators

AU0808171191 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Aug 91 p 2

[PAP report: "The Feelings of Poles and Lithuanians"]

[Text] Andrzej Ananicz, deputy director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Europe Department, announced that Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski would pay a visit to Lithuania at a two-day meeting of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission in Oleck. He added that a draft Polish-Lithuanian declaration, which would be a substitute for a treaty between states, and the possible opening of a Polish Consulate in Vilnius would be considered during the Polish minister's visit.

A. Ananicz briefed deputies on the situation of the Polish ethnic minority in Lithuania. The Poles do want to satisfy the provisions of last year's citizenship law, which requires that the inhabitants of Lithuania declare their nationality. He said that the declaration of nationality determines eligibility for Lithuanian citizenship. Other nationalities will be accorded the status of citizens of the USSR.

Halina Kobeckaite, who is a member of the Lithuanian Government with responsibility for nationality relations, responded: "In my opinion, there is no basis for such fears."

According to H. Kobeckaite, "the Poles (like the Russians) live in Lithuania in closed communities, do not take part in the life of the country, and do not always understand the country's problems. Poles residing in Lithuania have nothing at all to fear, are native inhabitants of Lithuania, and will have no problems whatsoever in obtaining citizenship."

The law does not provide for dual citizenship. Our countrymen—in view of the fact that borders are controlled by the Soviet Union—do not want to renounce their Soviet citizenship, because at the present time a Lithuanian passport would prevent them from maintaining contacts with Poland.

During the meeting it was stressed that the question of a Polish university had also aroused a lot of controversy. The Lithuanian authorities believe that there is no need to open a Polish college and no possibility to do so. Another contentious issue is the preparation of a new administrative division of Lithuania that would change present district boundaries.

Suwalki Voivode Andrzej Podchul discussed border area cooperation between Poland and Lithuania. The voivode intends to open a center for cooperation with Lithuania in Suwalki (with a view to establishing them with other Baltic republics, too) and to set up a Suwalki-Mazurian enterprise bank with a representation in Vilnius. Members of the Polish community in America have expressed interest in the undertaking.

There are also plans to open new border-crossing points at Kiejdany, Trakiszki, and Szypliszki township.

The problems of the Lithuanian community in Poland were described by Romuald Witkowski, the mayor of Punsz Township. Speaking to PAP journalists, he said: "A letter containing 10 of our demands has been delivered to the president, but unfortunately we have not received a reply. The demands include setting up a Lithuanian cultural center in Sejny, the introduction of Lithuanian instruction in schools, and the participation of our representatives in bodies discussing issues concerning Lithuanians living in Poland."

"An independent Poland, a free Poland has always maintained that the right of the Lithuanian people to determine its own fate is an inalienable one," said Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, opening the second day of the session in Punsz.

It was attended by a Lithuanian parliamentary delegation led by Lithuanian Vice President Bronius Kusmickas.

Commenting on the session, Geremek noted that the Lithuanian side had obtained a great deal during the course of the meeting. Speaking to a PAP journalist, he said: "One thing it did not obtain was a clear answer regarding our position on Lithuanian sovereignty, but that cannot be otherwise."

"It is significant," said Geremek, "that in his speech Kusmickas said that Lithuania was not hoping for that kind of recognition, but what it was hoping for was the development of relations like those between independent states, and that is what we will try to do."

Speaking about the Polish minority in Lithuania, Deputy Geremek said: "It is frightened, it is afraid of Lithuanian nationalism, and that is being used by pro-Soviet groups. Whether we will succeed in obtaining essential legal guarantees from the Lithuanians for the minority is the question that we are asking ourselves."

On 4 August, a delegation of Polish parliamentarians attended the unveiling of a monument to the victims of Stalinism at Giby, a place from which the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs deported 550 local inhabitants.

Article Criticizes 'Frivolity' of Parliament

AU0808142591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 3-4 Aug 91 p 1

[Florin Gabriel Marculescu article: "The Frivolity of the Parliament"]

[Excerpts] The beginning of the summer vacation was the reason for a meeting between the FSN [National Salvation Front] parliamentarians and the national leader of the FSN, Mr. Petre Roman. The chief executive—obviously pleased with the adoption of the privatization bill in record time—made a short speech on that occasion expressing thanks to all the senators and deputies that share his political views for the tremendous activity carried out during the year since the creation of the supreme legislative forum. He mentioned that the results achieved during this first session (!?) provide the parliament with an honorable first place in the—naturally fictitious—rating of all European parliaments. What had a negative impact on us was the fact that Mr. Roman does not master the specific jargon used in this area. Our prime minister confuses the word session with legislature; he probably believes they are synonymous and thus interchangeable. [passage omitted]

From a quantitative point of view, we have to say that Mr. Roman is right. We were surprised at the easygoing way in which more than 100 laws were examined and passed in the past year, while also going through the complicated theses of the constitution! However, quantity has had a negative influence on the quality of the legislative activity itself. Many laws have not been studied thoroughly enough, and their application has proved to be extremely difficult, thus revealing serious substantial violations. In this sense, we can quote the Land Law, and we anticipate unsurmountable obstacles in the way of the not at all triumphant privatization bill. (If it will be promulgated by President Ilescu, who we doubt will be aware of the almost un hoped-for trump he has!) The parliament agenda was constantly loaded uselessly, and we believe intentionally, with rather futile draft bills or with bills that could have been postponed without any harm. In this sense, we can mention bills like the ones on the organization and operation of trade companies (that actually take over the provisions of the former trade code with the only addition of provisions regarding companies with limited responsibility), and on the organization of agricultural companies (before the farmers got into the possession of their ownership titles, thus being useless because the emergence of such companies does not need a special law) and so forth.

What the parliament should have done, but did not do, was to review and then confirm or, as the case may be, invalidate the legions of bills issued by two bodies without any legitimacy: The CFSN [National Salvation Front Council] and then the CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council].

Now we have reached what should have been the parliament's number one priority: the constitution. By virtue of a

confusing methodology, incomprehensible in practice, our parliamentarians have wasted extremely precious time discussing theses (principles) that are difficult to identify in the recently published draft constitution. This explains the fact that no less than 1,119 amendments (the equivalent of a volume of 250 pages) were registered, the examination of which—we reckon—will need at least 50 days; that is twice as much time as during the first round on the constitution. [passage omitted]

However, the most serious thing is the fact that the legitimacy of the 1923 Constitution continues to be intentionally ignored; thus this fundamental law that is being formulated stems from the series of communist constitutions, the last one of which—that of 1965—is still in force!

We cannot ignore the intolerance of the parliamentary majority either; nor can we disregard the intentional violation of certain elementary procedural norms—established on the basis of international regulations—of the two chambers. Neither can we disregard the primitive voting system that has led to so many utterly deplorable incidents. The (interim) review to which Mr. Roman has pushed us leads you to the idea of a certain frivolity that was constantly felt during the deliberations of the parliamentarians so far. For the time being, through an inversion of roles, the parliament has become a mere annex of the government.

PNT-cd Main Aim To Rejuvenate Leadership

AU0808112691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0905 GMT Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/8/1991—In an interview with daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL," Ion Barbus, vice-president of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd], and Ioan Lup, general secretary of that party, state that the new leadership of the party will be elected at that political formation's congress due in September. As far as the political orientation is concerned, the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party continues "the absolutely democratic line."

The collocutors appreciate that it is possible for the 20-to-30-year-old youngsters be promoted to the party's leadership. "One of our main aims is rejuvenation. As time passes by we, the older ones, eliminate ourselves. But this party couldn't be started otherwise."

The executives of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party state that the number of their partisans is largely increasing because of the land law, too, which displeases the inhabitants of the villages. "We are not interested in the number of our partisans but in their dignity," they specify.

Communist Party's Balasoiu on Reorganization

AU0908081991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 6 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Nicolae Ion Balasoiu, president of the Statutory Central Commission of the Committee for the Reorganization of the RCP, by Sorin Rosca-Stanescu; place and date not given: "Into Battle!"; words in capital letters as published]

[Excerpts] Do you recall the turbulent day of 12 January 1990 when Messrs. Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman mounted a tank and when—under street pressure—they issued a decree in the evening outlawing the RCP [Romanian Communist Party]? [passage omitted]

This fall the RCP NATIONAL CONFERENCE will be held. Mr. NICOLAE ION BALASOIU, president of the Statutory Central Commission of the Committee for the Reorganization of the RCP, contacted us: [passage omitted]

[Rosca-Stanescu] Do you believe in God?

[Balasoiu] Yes, very much. Communist traditions existed before Christ.

[Rosca-Stanescu] How did you get the idea of reviving the RCP?

[Balasoiu] The party has not been outlawed. It has existed since 1945. Because of the political explosion of December 1989, its leadership deserted it, and the party structures dissolved. We tried to reestablish the party immediately after 22 December 1989, but conditions did not permit this. In the meantime, a number of dishonest elements have been discarded to other parties such as the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] for instance.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Which is the RCP's main opponent?

[Balasoiu] We do not have any opponent at this time. We want to become a catalyst and to create political stability in our country. The PSM is promoting an ambiguous policy. It is not a party of the workers' class. It represents limited social interests. This is proved by Ilie Verdet's statement that the PSM is not the continuator of communist traditions.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What are your claims on the fabulous RCP patrimony?

[Balasoiu] As long as the RCP exists, no one can take away this patrimony from us. We are its legal administrators. The funds achieved on the basis of membership fees have to be available to us. Based on the information we have so far, the fixed assets in Bucharest are made up of the RCP Headquarters in Districts 6 and 4, the RCP Hotel in Batistei Street, while in the country there are the RCP guest houses built with membership fees. We are rightfully the owner of the frozen funds in the National Bank made up of the membership fees of RCP members in the months of October and November 1989. I am referring to both members at home and abroad. Then

there is the Bucurestii Noi garage, with its fleet of automobiles, as well as the Bucurestii Noi printing house. During the RCP National Conference that is to be held in Bucharest in September, we will propose that those objects that were achieved with centralized state funds be handed over to the government. We do not know yet what other funds the RCP is entitled to. Anyhow, others—and I am referring especially to the PSM—cannot obtain them, because we have not merged with them. As a matter of fact, Verdet's party totals only 22 members. Verdet, Dudas, and the others have disavowed the political sentiment of a communist.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Do the RCP Program and RCP Statute remain in force?

[Balasoiu] Yes. However, there are 12 amendments whereby we recognize political pluralism, a multiparty system, the state of law, a mixed economy, and religion. We will preserve the RCP emblem, the red flag with hammer and sickle, and the membership cards.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What are the immediate objectives of the RCP's political course?

[Balasoiu] At this point we are busy getting reorganized. In the fall, we will participate in the local elections and next year in general elections. We do not believe that we will attract more than 35 percent of the electorate in the first stage. Young elements will participate in the leadership at all levels. Older citizens will have to renounce such positions.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Is there a delimitation between you and the "Romania Mare" Party?

[Balasoiu] A very clear one. We are struggling for inter-ethnic harmony.

[Rosca-Stanescu] How do you plan to recover the patrimony? Are you going to just enter the buildings?

[Balasoiu] No. We will avail ourselves of legal means. We will conduct civilized talks with President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What do you think of the role of the monarchy?

[Balasoiu] Bringing the king back to the country would not exert a positive influence on us.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What do you plan to do with those who have burned their party membership cards?

[Balasoiu] We will examine the situation of each case separately, within the Party Collegium headed by Comrade Virgil Zbaganu. In some cases, we will clarify things after the national conference.

[Rosca-Stanescu] The statute stipulates sanctions against those who damage or destroy their party membership cards.

[Balasoiu] We will clarify things after the conference.

[Rosca-Stanescu] How do you recover membership fees that have not been paid?

[Balasoiu] Our guideline is to let people pay them voluntarily, so that they will gradually be up to date.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Do you count on foreign help?

[Balasoiu] No. We believe in the principle of "help yourself." Although the RCP was very rich and helped many communist and workers parties when needed, we do not ask them for anything.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Will you support Ion Iliescu in the elections?

[Balasoiu] This will be decided at the national conference.

[Rosca-Stanescu] With whom will you set up a coalition?

[Balasoiu] We fit together with all those who understand that the RCP is the party of the oppressed and the needy. We are studying the "Romania Mare" Party or even the Civic Alliance Party. We want to attract men of science and political scientists. We will be cautious with those who in the past 10 years have held important positions. We will support those who had to suffer during the same period such as Stefan Andrei, Ion Totu, Ioan Radu, and others. We have reservations about others. At our last discussion, Ion Traian Stefanescu told us that he had no feelings left for the RCP and politics in general. We are against those who, at this point, cry—not over the RCP—just over the advantages they used to enjoy.

[Rosca-Stanescu] How big is your organization?

[Balasoiu] I cannot tell you any figure. We have rather restricted RCP formations in Dolj, Gorj, Caras-Severin, Timis (where we actually began), Calarasi, Constanta, Bacau, Birlad, and Braila. Do you recall? The RCP started with 700 people. You saw what it achieved...

[Rosca-Stanescu] Will you have a newspaper?

[Balasoiu] Yes. The SCINTEIA newspaper.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Does this mean that you will claim ADEVARUL?

[Balasoiu] We will have a solution by the end of August. We have two experienced staff members who will deal with setting up the editorial team and with the publication of the newspaper. We count on the cooperation of RCP members.

Therefore, esteemed readers, esteemed citizens of Romania, this is what is awaiting us; once again "we will be what we were before, and more than that" or... THE FUTURE IS NO LONGER WHAT IT USED TO BE, EITHER!

Romanian, Hungarian Social Democrats End Meeting

AU0808185891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1806 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/8/1991—The reason of the meeting between representatives of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) of Romania and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary in Arad on August 5 and 6, was mutual acquaintance and exchange of ideas and information on the evolution of social-democracy in eastern Europe, reads a communiqué released by the Social Democratic Party of Romania on August 8. The talks also covered the involvement of the social-democratic parties in the development of the solidarity of the countries that got rid of communism, more specifically between Romania and Hungary, the fight against the neo-communist trends that try to call themselves social-democratic in order to mislead public opinion about their real targets, the defence of the national heritage against the danger of falling into the hands of foreign capital, prevention of communist nomenclatura and of those who profit from corruption to make a new economic and financial ruling elite, rejection of the economic measures conducive to uncontrolled mounting of unemployment with dangerous consequences for social life.

Both parties pointed to the outstanding importance of the link with the unions, assessing that the union life was the ABC of democracy.

It was established that bilateral and multilateral periodical meetings be held for consultations in the social-democratic policy.

The delegations in Arad were headed by the two parties' chairmen: Ana Petrasovits, for Hungary, and Sergiu Cunesco, for Romania.

Poll: Romanians, Moldovans Prefer Separate States

AU0808185291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1806 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/8/1991—More than half (55 percent) and over two thirds (71 percent) of the populations of Romania and the Republic of Moldova are of the opinion that, over the next period of time, it would be better for the two countries to stay as two independent states but entertain close economic, cultural and human contacts between them, shows a poll conducted jointly at the end of July this year by IRSOP (Romanian Polling Institute) of Romania and INSOC, its Moldavian equivalent on batches of 2,240 and respectively 2,192 individuals aged over 17 and representing the demographic structures of the two countries. 22 percent of the respondents in Romania and 17 percent in Moldova do not agree to the idea, while 2 and respectively 12 percent are undecided.

The treaty concluded this year by Romania and the USSR is seen with approbation by 27 percent of respondents in Romania and 40 percent of those in Moldova, while 30 and 23 percent respectively disapprove of it.

Most of those questioned in Romania and the Republic of Moldova worry in various degrees (22 and 16 percent very much, 28 and 35 percent much and 26 and 26 percent a little) about the Yugoslav crisis. About half of them in Romania and 30 percent in Moldova favour a unified Yugoslavia.

Romanians favour closer ties with France and, in this order, with the United States, Germany, Japan, the USSR, Italy, Great Britain, Canada, while Moldovans wish closer links with the USSR, Italy, the United States, France, Japan, Germany, Canada, and Great Britain in this sequence.

Article Urges Leaders To Support SRI Activity

AU0808140391 Bucharest DEMOCRATIA
in Romanian No.5 Jul 91 p 5

[Nicolae Meianu article: "Let SRI Do Its Duty!"]

[Excerpts] Members of the government and parliamentarians, it is necessary now more than ever before to let the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] do its duty. You have to create the legal framework it needs. If you do not support it (although you should, irrespective of political color—for this is why the people have elected you to the helm of the country—and you should be interested primarily in the protection of this land), then at least do not create difficulties.

It is well known that all countries in the world have more or less properly operating intelligence and counterintelligence services. [passage omitted] They gather all kinds of information (economic, military, social, and so forth). They plot acts of diversion, instigate destabilization, organize sabotage, the devaluation of national currencies, disinformation, a constant state of panic, and the defamation of the Romanian people in the eyes of other peoples. And, instead of taking defensive measures and strengthening the apparatus that is supposed to bar the way of foreign agencies, we just watch and do nothing. Moreover, we even stop it from doing its duty. For party, or I don't know what interests, some politicians from the opposition, or even from the ruling party, become allergic when they hear of the SRI. Don't you see, gentlemen, that what is happening today in the world—economic bankruptcies, state coups, secession, and interethnic unrest—is mainly a result of the shadow war waged by the espionage agencies of certain countries that are trying to achieve hegemony? And let's be frank, what the American intelligence services have achieved in our time, thus making the United States hold a unique place in today's world, could not have been achieved by that country without these services, despite its entire nuclear arsenal. What is happening today in our neighboring and friendly country—Yugoslavia—is the fruit of the activity carried out by the espionage services in Hungary and

Austria, which want to revive the late Austro-Hungarian Empire at all costs. American espionage is aware of this plot. The sudden change of position by the United States did not happen accidentally. There were unacceptable threats against a sovereign state and gross interference in its domestic affairs that culminated in open support for the secessionists. Should the United States have forgotten their own experience when the Southern secessionists rose against the North?

Now we recognize (if this was needed) the origin of the so-called autonomy of the Romanian Banat and Transylvania. I do not exaggerate at all when I affirm that bitter activity is going on today to split certain states or to subjugate them economically and politically. Armed confrontations have been replaced by shadow wars, which—as can be seen—have become more effective and profitable. Unfortunately—as was the case before World War II—Romania is in a very difficult position. Like at that time, it has no reliable ally, and the intelligence and counterintelligence apparatus of our country, which should be in the front ranks, has been destroyed. Some of the specialists are in prison, without being guilty, and others have been removed for reasons that are hard to understand. [passage omitted]

SRI, as the country's apparatus for defense and legal order, is obligated to know whether a person, irrespective of which party he belongs to (be it even the ruling party), is plotting against the state or is in the service of a foreign power. Therefore, the SRI is feared only by those with a guilty conscience. [passage omitted]

Article Condemns Reluctance on Independent Channel

AU0808134891 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
3 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Victor Teisanu article: "Afraid of What?"]

[Text] The Americans are asking our government to offer the Romanians the chance of an independent television station. This would be an important condition for our country to obtain the Most Favored Nation trade status [MFN]. With their experience, the people on the other side of the ocean are very well aware of the impact television has on the public. Particularly in a country completely off balance after 50 years of communist darkness, one can build or destroy everything by means of images, including the myth of democracy. Had the current leadership not subjugated television, it would never have won its victory in the elections so easily. The Americans certainly know this. This is also known by our leadership, which is indefinitely postponing the creation of an independent television station, although they crave the MFN. They realize that from there to losing their popularity and the electorate is just one step.

However, a moral aspect comes into play. Mr. Iliescu and his supporters always reacted intensely whenever certain Romanian dissidents of yesterday and today were of the opinion that foreign assistance should

depend on our democratic progress. For merely demagogic reasons they set the naive Romanian public on these dissidents whose gestures had to seem profoundly unpatriotic. This sophism functioned perfectly: Our major national interests should not be sacrificed for the sake of petty party sentiments and so forth. The television and newspapers of the leadership ensured the necessary sound and prints at such times. The success was guaranteed: Workers' collectives and entire cities or even simple private people (well-meaning people) facing such diversion strongly protested against those "unpatriotic" and selfish people, who played into the hands of certain agencies, sending them to the pillar of disgrace.

And today? The Americans demand an independent television channel for the Romanian people in exchange of the MFN. Everyone knows that this status is vital for invigorating our economy. Out of patriotism Mr. Ilescu should immediately accept the conditions set by the Americans for granting the MFN. By not doing so he undermines major national interests for selfish political reasons and is thus playing into the hands of foreign agencies, probably Eastern ones. The workers' collectives in various parts of our country should again demonstrate their indignation and condemn the cynicism of the elected president toward the good faith of the electorate. Since this is not happening, it means that the aforementioned sophism operates only from time to time, namely when it is in the interest of the emanates [of the revolution]. For it lies in their power to finally decide on the birth of a truly independent television station. Confronted with this possibility, our leaders do not only hesitate, but they outright stall. Could they be afraid? Of what?

Weapons Export Interdiction Decision Deplored

AU0808112391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0912 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/8/1991—The United States' decision to cancel the interdiction on arms exports to Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary is assessed by "AZI" daily of the National Salvation Front as "a step not at all salutary."

According to the newspaper an inflow of modern weapons in an area where real arsenals have already been stockpiled will certainly have important geo-political consequences that might alter the precarious equilibrium after the abolition of the Warsaw Treaty. The fact that these deliveries could include offensive weapons like the F-16 aircraft feeds suspicions that the Czechoslovak-Polish-Hungarian trilateral cooperation wants to be more than mere "regional" meant to speed up its entrance in Europe. At the same time the United States' decision has been made against the background of the Yugoslav crisis developing in the vicinity of the beneficiaries of the envisaged arms deliveries of which at least one—Hungary—is accused by Belgrade that interferes in the conflict of the neighbouring country.

At the same time, in the opinion of the Bucharest daily, in conditions in which elements of instability persist in the East European countries engaged in the difficult process of winning back their European and democratic identity, it is unlikely that the modernisation of the military arsenals of the Central European "Troika" could build up a confidence undermined by reciprocal suspicions, of ethnic origin included, and contribute to strengthening security in the "former socialist monolithic system" and, implicitly, in a Europe that wants to be united. The American decision, the paper notes in conclusion, runs counter to the official stand of the Atlantic Alliance, whose prominent member the United States is, according to which Europe's former communist countries enjoy an equal treatment as far as their security is concerned.

Foreign Ministry's Melescanu Reports on Treaties

AU0808190291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1816 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/8/1991—At the Thursday news briefing this week, Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu informed that, besides the treaties of friendship, cooperation and good neighbourliness signed so far with the USSR and Italy, Romania is pursuing the conclusion of similar treaties with its neighbours, Yugoslavia included, with Greece and Turkey, with central-European states—Czechoslovakia, Germany and Poland; with west-European countries—France, Spain, Benelux - to which Romania has forwarded a draft with variations for the countries bordering the Black Sea, the Danube and the Mediterranean. We are ready, said Mr. Melescanu, to have similar initiatives with other European countries that show interest.

So far, he said, negotiations have been already carried with Greece, Turkey and Czechoslovakia with which the texts of the future treaties have already been agreed upon. We've had a first round of negotiations with France and we shall soon meet Germany and Poland for the same purpose. As a matter of fact, it was due to the Yugoslav crisis that the German negotiator has had to postpone his visit to Romania twice.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman does not consider credible the speculations of a Hungarian TV reporter according to which the breaking of the dam at Onesti was a purposeful action meant to flood the zone inhabited by Hungarians.

Teodor Melescanu, Foreign Ministry secretary of state, stated in his weekly news briefing on August 8, with reference to the TV interview on August 2 by Nemeth Zsolt, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Young Democrats-FIDESZ, whom a reporter asked about those speculations, that such a way of thinking could only generate justified amazement and bitterness when Romania's whole population and organizations of other countries, Hungary included, take action to remove the effects of the catastrophic floods.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman wonders what "humanitarian" cause did the Hungarian TV reporter serve and how can such a person's professional ethics be termed. Also, what an unpleasant surprise, Mr. Melescanu said, to hear that Mr. Zsolt's only reason to doubt the credibility of such speculations is that the floods caused by the breaking of the dam afflicted also villages inhabited only by Romanians.

"The Romanian Foreign Ministry has got to know with great interest of the Soviet-American statement on the two states' intention to induce the calling next October

of a peace conference to start the peace process in the Middle East," stated Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu to a news conference on August 8.

"From the angle of friendly and close relations with all states in the region and of its geographic vicinity, Romania is greatly interested in the final settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, sincerely wishing that region to become an essential component of the new world order, for the benefit and progress of its peoples, of the new course of peace and detente in the world," he added.

Federal**Mesic 8 Aug News Conference Reported**

*LD0808140591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[News conference by SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic with domestic and foreign journalists in the Croatian Assembly building in Zagreb; some reporters are unidentified—live]

[Excerpts] [Mesic] Since you all are well informed about the situation and how the political situation in Croatia has been developing, I will make just a brief comment.

The EC troika mission, as you know, failed because of a blockade by the Serbian bloc and the fact that Serbia has three votes in the Presidency plus Montenegro, which has never differed from the way the Serbian bloc has voted. There were no grounds to expect any success because it was obvious that Serbia did not wish for internationalization, did not want objective observers. A state commission has been set up. You have seen its members touring the crisis areas in the expectation that all the conflicting parties would accept a truce and [word indistinct]. It would have been better if Serbia had also agreed to observe the truce [words indistinct].

You are also aware that the incident in Dalj has yet to be resolved, that is, the incident in the New Croatian Catholic Wood [as heard] where people were shot and buried in a common grave. Obviously it does not suit those who committed this act to have the world monitoring or a neutral observer. However, the truth will come to light and there will have to be calls for international help and, perhaps, an international commission to find out what happened in Dalj.

I have some reports about the way the cease-fire is being observed. I know that there has been less shooting and [word indistinct] fighting. We shall very quickly get to know how the situation will unfold. Can we have questions now?

[Ramljak] Olga Ramljak of SLOBODAN DALMACIJA. Mr. President, would you please comment on the current situation? The Presidency's decision on a cease-fire [words indistinct].

[Mesic] As you know, this decision [passage indistinct].

[Reporter] I would like to know if [word indistinct] people to get killed for your third Yugoslavia. Is it not too late to speak about a third Yugoslavia?

[Mesic] I think that it was a journalist's misinterpretation. The proposals were for the formation of a confederation and a union of sovereign states from several republics including Croatia and Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. But as time went by, it became obvious that neither Croatia nor Slovenia could

accept a force-imposed dictate and that therefore Slovenia decided on a plebiscite and Croatia on a referendum with the aim of disassociation. The outcome of the referendum is a fact and there is no dilemma about it. Croatia and Slovenia will disassociate but are nevertheless prepared to talk about future coexistence with those who will not impose solutions by force...

[Unidentified voice in background interjects]... and with Serbia!

[Mesic continues] Obviously, if Serbia gives up its demands to expand at the expense of Croatian territories under the formula: all Serbs in one state. Greater Serbian circles maintain that of all the people in the world the Serbs alone are entitled to this privilege, and this is difficult to accept.

[Name indistinct from REUTER] I believe that the Presidency's latest cease-fire makes no reference to any future political talks on the future of Yugoslavia. What is the next step if the cease-fire does hold and the killings stop?

[Mesic] If the cease-fire holds the next step is to set up a system functioning in the country, and through the institutions of the system all political issues can be resolved.

[WASHINGTON POST reporter, name indistinct in English, followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] Could you be more specific in your last answer. You mentioned the words system and functions. What are the systems, who participates in them, and what are the functions?

[Mesic] Well, it must surely be obvious what the institutions of the system are in a state and that they must function. In other words, the police must function along vertical lines, the judiciary must function along vertical lines, the same with the public prosecutors, in other words, all the functions of the state. When this starts functioning it will be easy to negotiate unresolved political problems in municipal assemblies, in the Assembly, that is, where it should be done.

[Dowell in English followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] Martin Dowell, BBC. Can you share with us your latest information on the state of the cease-fire, how much violence there is, and whether either Croatian or Serbian forces have pulled back from any lines anywhere?

[Mesic] As far as I know there has been a certain lull but I do not know if there has been any withdrawal. The best withdrawal would be if those who came from other parts, specifically from Serbia, would return to where they came from so that people can return to their homes and so that a normal political dialogue can start. There will be no dialogue for as long as those who came from outside, heavily armed, and who were trained and financed from outside stay here. For there is an illusion that the problem in Croatia is between Serbs and Croats. As you can see, the problem lies between those who wish

for Greater Serbia and a section of the militant Serbs on one side who are against the organs of authority of Croatia.

[Traynor in English followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] Ian Traynor, THE GUARDIAN. Mr. Mesic, there is a lot of confusion over the terms of the cease-fire. Could you specify what your understanding is? [words indistinct]

[Mesic] I was skeptical about this decision on a cease-fire unless there was a monitoring mechanism by the EC. I remain so. In other words, without objective observers and an objective fact-finding it is hard to expect much benefit from a commission for controlling and implementing the truce. I think that eventually both the EC and the CSCE will become more involved [words indistinct]

[Reporter] [words indistinct] How is this cease-fire to be enforced and policed?

[Mesic] Yes, it was agreed that the commission will propose the methods. In other words local commissions will be set up in each troublespot to include representatives of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry, the Army, and the outlaws.

[Reporter] Yesterday Mr. Bogicevic said in Osijek that federal police will be sent to Croatia. What does this mean in practice, that is, he said it as if that was written in the cease-fire decision?

[Mesic] Yes, they will be members of those commissions that will oversee enforcement of the cease-fire. This will be in sectors. [sentence as heard] [words indistinct] so, whether we want it or not, they will be involved in [passage indistinct]

[Mesic] Units in direct conflict are one thing and the other is the forces of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs, that is, the regular police force. They cannot withdraw an inch from Croatian territory because otherwise we would lose sovereignty. So, this is not the issue. The police must remain at every spot and in every settlement, because it protects public order, property, and the system. [passage indistinct]

[Mesic] That is right. [passage indistinct] Where there are no clashes, there are no reasons why the National Guard should be there. If there are no clashes, the Croatian Guard will respect that. That is not the problem.

[Reporter in English, followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. President, will Macedonia's decision to hold a referendum on independence on September 8th have—or does it have—any indirect or direct impact for the resolution of the crisis?

[Mesic] I am not sure whether it has a direct impact, but it has an indirect one, because it is clear that it is likely that Macedonia wants to join the republics that expressed their sovereignty and their sovereign decision

for individualization. This is likely awaiting Macedonia, and this will certainly provide greater opportunity for all to follow the path of individualization and then to seek through later talks—if they happen—talks on common functions. [passage indistinct]

Formally speaking and in line with the Constitution, the Yugoslav Presidency is the Supreme Commander, and it should provide answers to your questions. As far as the army is concerned and your specific question whether [words indistinct], I would also raise the question of where all these outlaws got their heavy weapons, mortars, guns, and even uniforms and small arms and everything else. All of this is from domestic sources, and there is no doubt that it was purchased here. These arms could only be found in army warehouses. So, someone emptied the warehouses and transferred arms to the outlaws. Whether someone from the top army leadership ordered that or whether the local commanders did it should be established later, when peace is established. What we have from the military leadership is that the army will observe the decisions of the state Presidency, that it will observe the truce, and that it will carry out relevant tasks. This is in general. We shall see whether every military commander will abide by this in practice.

[Reporter in Bulgarian, followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] [words indistinct] Sofia daily paper: The army is still called Yugoslav and People's. What does this mean?

[Mesic] It means what the name says. But it would be difficult to say that it is also Slovene, because the army is withdrawing from Slovenia and Slovenes are withdrawing from the army. This means, that some attributes are not appropriate.

[Reporter in German, followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] START from Vienna: Two questions: Does it follow from your answer that the army of some regions is in disarray? Second, you had talks with a delegation of the Austrian parliament in Belgrade. How do you assess these talks, and what are their specific results for you?

[Mesic] As far as the army is concerned, there are certainly lots of problems there. First, the republics are not sending their recruits—none of them are observing the recruitment quotas. Slovenia is not sending recruits and furthermore Slovene soldiers are being withdrawn from the army. The army is facing the problem that many recruits do not want to do their military service in other republics. We should not forget that the army has some problems regarding its composition.

But the main army problem is that the top army leadership does not realize that the army must withdraw to the barracks and that this would be the biggest contribution to peace. We cannot pass this decision in the Presidency, because there is a blockade in the decisionmaking process. Before the army took positions in Plitvice, only one person died in Croatia. After the army left their barracks, hundreds and hundreds of people died. From this we can conclude, whether the army should play the role of

arbiter or not. It was precisely its coming out that encouraged those who believe that the army will back them. Local commanders, who were arming the outlaws, were also encouraged.

As far as talks with the delegation of the Austrian Parliament are concerned, I am satisfied with them. I do not know whether they are satisfied. I briefed them about our situation as I see it. They briefed me about their perception of our situation. They are certainly interested for peace in this country, for across-the-board cooperation, and this should be welcomed. They are also disturbed by what is happening here. They, as a neutral country, will do everything to influence a peaceful resolution of our problems.

[Reporter in English followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. Mesic, I would like to ask you whether you are at all concerned about the statements from Moscow concerning the Yugoslav crisis?

[Mesic] I believe that as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there are no serious threats, because the Soviet Union has its own serious problems and it should resolve them. It is interesting that the Soviet Union came to the conclusion that it can survive as an alliance of sovereign states, that two republics—White Russia and Ukraine—are internationally recognized entities since the formation of the USSR. It is likely that Russia has similar ambitions. Many people in our country who are viewing the Soviet Union and seek help there, do not accept what is happening in the Soviet Union. I do not believe that there is a threat from the Soviet Union. The only danger would occur if the situation in Yugoslavia seriously worsens, if conflicts escalate, then the Soviet Union—if it is not aware of what is happening here—could block the involvement of international institutions and the United Nations. This will depend certainly on how the situation develops. It would be best if the truce is successful.

[Reporter in English followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] WASHINGTON POST: A [word indistinct] from the Federal Defense Ministry said earlier this week that rebels now hold 15 percent of Croatian territory. On the night the cease-fire went into effect, it appears that the cease-fire gave de facto possession of that territory to the rebels. Does Croatia now have [words indistinct]?

[Mesic] You see, now it is quite clear what has been happening, in particular in Slavonia. First there was a campaign that Serbian women and children should leave their homes and seek freedom and safety in Serbia—although no one attacked those villages. In fact, a space was being created for burning down the villages and for waging war against Croatian villages and towns. We do not need much proof of that. All the attacked villages with mixed populations were previously vacated by Serbs, so they could be bombed and attacked, and so Croats are forced to withdraw. Something similar is happening down in Dalmatia. The strategy is clear.

The Croatian territory is indivisible and all those who left their homes will return. The Croatian authorities will enable them to do so. Burned down villages—such as the village of Celije and many others must be rebuilt by both the state and other institutions, and—I must say—with international aid. There will be no exodus of people, but they will return to their homes—their villages and homes.

As far as the statement about the percentage of the territory that is controlled by outlaws, let me tell you that the statement is arbitrary because even in these territories there are police stations in many places, so not even that territory is completely controlled by the structured rebel authorities, and especially in Slavonia, where only a few villages are held by rebels—not even a single municipality, not a single region or municipality.

Clearly, there are ambitions to conquer Vukovar, Vinkovci or—as some more ambitious people are thinking of—Osijek. You can see that Seselj openly says that only a Virovitica-Karlovac-Karlobag border could satisfy him. He says it publicly, and those supporting him do not say it openly, but are working on it. They are even more dangerous than Seselj. [passage omitted]

[Traynor in English followed by Serbo-Croatian translation] Ian Traynor from THE GUARDIAN. There remains the fact, Mr. Mesic, whether you take them as arbitrary or not, that over the past year and in particular over the past month, the Zagreb administration has lost control over a substantial part of its territory. What I am interested in knowing is: Do you foresee negotiations with Serbia, between Croatia and Serbia, on the territorial [words indistinct]?

[Mesic] There will no negotiations with the Republic of Serbia about the Croatian territories. Therefore, there will be no redrawing of borders at the expense of Croatia. The control will be established in the way that it is necessary to establish it—on territories where there is no control.

[Reporter] I am from Radio Sarajevo. I would first like to ask for Mr. Mesic's comment on this decision of the Croatian government on entering what is practically economic war, and second, has the Croatian government assessed the extent of the damage to third republics, which will be either indirectly or directly hit by these measures of the Croatian Government?

[Mesic] I believe that this question should be put to the ministers of the Republic of Croatia. It is clear that the Republic of Croatia will have to take account of the interests of other republics, and to ensure that the damages to them should be minimal, or it would be best if there were none. The other republics should not feel the effects of this move by the Croatian government, but as Pero Kriste [Petar Kriste, minister of trade] said, this decision was made precisely because the Republic of Serbia officially—that is its official organs—do not admit that they have any influence on the events in Croatia. On the other hand, you can see that their

ministers, their emissaries, are coming to the territory of Croatia and making war-mongering speeches. After such speeches there are always military [words indistinct]. We must [word indistinct] that a great part of the armed formations is financed from elsewhere, because there is no money to pay so many armed men. [passage omitted] [passage indistinct]

Allegations on Army Attitudes Refuted

*LD0808192191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for National Defense today presented the SFRY Presidency with a report on some aspects of the conclusions of the Croatian Assembly of 3 August 1991, and attitudes toward the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] in this republic, with proposed measures:

At its session of 3 August 1991, the Croatian Assembly adopted conclusions in which, in an unreasoned and crude way, a multitude of accusations and insults were expressed against the YPA and its members.

1. The YPA is declared to be an army of occupation, and they accuse parts of the YPA of collaborating "in the aggression" against the republic of Croatia "in a direct and indirect way."

The territory of Croatia, regardless of the one-sided and anti-constitutional acts of its leadership, is part of the territory of the federal state of Yugoslavia. Hence the claim that the YPA is an occupier and aggressor in Croatia is untenable because no army can be an aggressor or occupier in the territory of its own state.

The fact is that members and units of the YPA in Croatia are constantly exposed to armed attacks and provocations of various sorts. Between 9 May and 4 August 1991, 240 attacks were carried out against members, units, facilities and resources of the YPA (in the attacks on members and facilities of the YPA in the territory of the republic of Croatia six soldiers and officers of the YPA died and 83 were injured). Instead of being halted, in line with the decisions of the SFRY Presidency, the attacks are intensifying. Between 20 July and 4 August 1991 alone, 75 such attacks were registered (15 cases of armed attacks by units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] and the National Guard Corps [ZNG] on units of the YPA in their positions; 22 cases of attacks on barracks and other military facilities by members of the MUP, ZNG and unidentified perpetrators; three cases of the blocking the barracks of the YPA; 19 instances of violent attacks on members of the YPA; five instances of murder threats against members of the YPA and members of their families; 11 cases of illegal behavior, the overstepping of authority, ill-treatment and the confiscation of the pistols of officers of the YPA by members of the MUP, ZNG, and armed members of the Croatian Democratic Community). From day to day there is also a deterioration in the elementary conditions for the life and work of members of the YPA and members of their families in the republic of Croatia (supplies to meet basic needs are

being withheld from units; regular activities are being frustrated; family members are treated as second class citizens; forced entries are made into the apartments of serving military personnel, and other things).

The attacks have often been launched on units which, in response to calls for help from the MUP or ZNG, have separated the sides in conflict and in this way prevented great losses to their forces.

In fact, the attitude toward the YPA in the Republic of Croatia is as if it were an occupying, enemy army; and the army neither can nor wants to behave in that way, although it will certainly protect, at all cost, the physical and moral integrity of its members and forces.

2. The Croatian Assembly concludes that "a part of the communist military leadership" is resisting an inevitable democratic transformation of society, that it has lost control, and that it is endangering the democratically elected leaderships of the republics.

These accusations are completely unfounded. The YPA has, from the very beginning, been supporting the true democratization of Yugoslav society and therefore stresses that it will accept any political solution that can be achieved in a peaceful and democratic way, in agreement with all the Yugoslav nations and republics.

The Army leadership has never undertaken anything on its own accord. Everything has been done only in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, federal laws, and the decisions of the highest organs of the federation, above all the SFRY Presidency as the supreme commander of the SFRY armed forces.

The Army has not endangered in any way the authorities that were elected in a multiparty legislative procedure.

The Army leadership has explicitly come out against impositions of any ideological principles or monopolies. Therefore, labelling it as communist—and this is done by those who remain prisoners of ideological fascist narrow-mindedness of the worst kind—does not deserve any comments.

3. The Croatian Assembly accuses the YPA of carrying out its tasks in the capacity of an armed force aiding "the expansionist policy of the communist rule of the Republic of Serbia" and of being directly involved on the side of "terrorists."

Without analyzing in detail the justification of the assessment on the character and policy of power in the Republic of Serbia and the resistance of the Serbian people in Croatia, we are stressing that—in all conflicts so far—the behavior of the YPA units has been impartial and exclusively aimed at preventing bloodshed. They were never the first to open fire. They did so only in self-defense and in extreme necessity. They never undertook any aggressive (offensive) action, but only fought defensively. As a rule their engagement was at the

invitation of either official organs or citizens of the Republic of Croatia. On several occasions they prevented a far greater loss of life among the Croatian armed forces. They maintain the same attitude to the killed and wounded members on both warring sides.

4. The Croatian Assembly accuses the YPA of failing to withdraw to barracks thus, allegedly, flagrantly violating the agreement with the EC. In this respect it is stressing that some army officers did not refrain from "adventurous plans for the military campaign against Croatia."

Let us recall that the agreement with the EC does not relate to the territory of the Republic of Croatia and point out that the YPA is fully observing the provisions of the joint Brioni declaration.

As long as leading officials, as well as the local exponents of power in Croatia—whose activities are sometimes beyond the control of the leadership—continue to plan and carry out violent attacks on Serb-populated villages, the YPA withdrawal to barracks will lead to a further escalation of conflict with unforeseeable consequences, and also to an enormous number of victims.

The call for the mobilization of all forces and the militant terminology dominating the conclusions raise doubts about the sincerity of the efforts of the political leadership of Croatia to solve the crisis in a peaceful manner.

Confronted with the facts, the earlier theses about the military coup and the present ones about an alleged Army march to occupy Croatia represent a complete fabrication and are being used to justify unconstitutional and anti-Army actions.

It is more than obvious that the creation of a groundless fear of the YPA is aimed at mobilising the local public for the implementation of secessionist intentions.

5. The appointment of Colonel-General Zivota Avramovic as commander of the 5th Army District is considered by the Croatian Assembly as "arrogant provocation;" it alleges that he "carried out the role of the pacifier of Kosovo by crude violations of human rights, for which the Republic of Serbia has been denounced by the world public and several parliaments of the democratic countries in the world..."

Such accusations, without any reasons and arguments, represent a crude, extremely uncivilized and inhumane attack on the person of Colonel-General Avramovic, his moral integrity, and the duty performed by him. They represent a part of the well-known scenario aimed at provoking divisions within the army ranks.

Singling out individual personalities in the YPA, in the special points of the Assembly's conclusions, is an unacceptable precedent without any ethical considerations. Such action does not exist in the parliamentary procedure of modern states and practically means the legalization of the Assembly circulars.

Apart from an unrestrained anti-Army campaign and attacks on the units and institutions, the authorities in Croatia are directly and actively engaged in preventing and hindering implementation of the decision of the SFRY Presidency to redeploy the YPA units from Slovenia.

The railway authorities in Croatia, together with the railway authorities in Slovenia, are delaying the issue of permits for the transport of YPA units and equipment. Thus, for example, a part of the tank unit from Vrhnika, loaded in carriages, was kept at the railway station at Logatec and its departure delayed for two and a half days.

To secure the conditions necessary for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful and democratic way and to prevent further bloodshed, we maintain that the SFRY Presidency should immediately take adequate measures which will help the Yugoslav Peoples' Army carry out its duties successfully—until the agreement on the country's political future has been concluded—in keeping with the SFRY constitution and the SFRY Presidency's decisions and particularly in keeping with the decisions on absolute and unconditional cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia of 3 and 6 August 1991. In this context the Federal Secretariat for National Defense suggests the following:

1. That the SFRY Presidency should examine the conclusions of the Croatian Assembly and the real policy of the leadership of the Republic of Croatia towards the YPA, and acquaint the public with its assessments and standpoints. Not only should the presidency point out the essence and aims of the anti-army campaign, it also should make it clear that by carrying out its activities in the Republic of Croatia, the YPA fulfills its constitutional and legal obligations and carries out the SFRY Presidency's decisions, therefore, it cannot be treated as one of the parties involved in the confrontation.
2. That the Presidency should warn all the competent authorities in the Republic of Croatia (the republic's President, Assembly and government) that if the Republic of Croatia persists in its assessments of the YPA as listed in the Assembly's conclusions, and continues to take measures and actions based on them, the army will be forced to change its own conduct and activities accordingly.
3. That the SFRY Presidency should demand—in line with its decisions—that all armed and other attacks against the YPA members, units, institutions and facilities in the Republic of Croatia cease immediately and unconditionally and that the conditions be secured for army personnel to live and work normally. It should make it clear that the YPA is fully authorized to take the necessary measures, including that of opening fire to protect and defend itself.
4. That the SFRY Presidency should demand that all competent authorities in the Republic of Croatia cease their actions that prevent or impede the implementation

of the SFRY Presidency's decisions of 18 July 1991 about the withdrawal of the YPA command bodies, units, and institutions from the territory of Slovenia. It should warn them about the obligation of the Supreme Command Headquarters—in accordance with article 7 of the decision—to insure that this decision is carried out in its entirety by all means and at all costs.

5. That the SFRY Presidency, in its capacity as supreme commander of the SFRY armed forces, should dissociate itself clearly and unambiguously, from the statements and actions of its members who advocate anti-army views and unacceptable attitudes towards the character, role and conduct of the YPA.

Government Forms Cease-Fire Monitoring Groups

AU0808120391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] The Federal Executive Council will authorize the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to monitor the implementation of the decision on peace.

To be more successful in monitoring the situation, the region effected by the war will be divided into three parts: Eastern Slavonia and Baranja; Banija and Kordun; and Lika, Dalmatia, and Knin Krajina. The implementation of the decision on ending hostilities will be supervised by the police of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Macedonia coordinated by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which will inform the SFRY Presidency of everything.

The groups for monitoring the truce will communicate with the help of the communications networks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia and the Yugoslav People's Army.

Cease-Fire Commission Sets Demands

LD0808183891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in Belgrade today between the members of the working group of the SFRY Presidency's commission for cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia—Vasil Tupurkovski, Bogic Bogicevic, Irfan Ajanovic, Petar Gracanin, Stane Brovet, and Andjelko Maslic; representatives of the Croatian government - Zivko Juzbasic and Slavko Degoricija; and representatives of the Serbian people from Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem - Ilija Koncarevic and Ilija Petrovic.

The meeting was also attended by the Federal Secretary for Agriculture and his deputy, Stevo Mirjanic and Milan Prostran.

The [three] sides were reported to have examined issues important for the efficient implementation of the SFRY Presidency's decisions.

All participants of the meeting agreed that:

1. The consistent implementation of total cease-fire is a necessary prerequisite for resolving all pending issues.
2. All necessary measures must immediately be taken to insure that the harvest and other work on the land are done. In this connection it is necessary to insure that all roads be made passable, particularly with respect to the harvest.

Conditions must also be created for insuring that the harvest gathered from private land can be traded on terms fixed by the owner, and that the profit obtained from the harvest gathered from fields in the state sector is distributed according to the amount of labor put in.

The Federal Secretariat for Agriculture, together with the authorized entities in the Republic of Croatia, will provide technical and other conditions so the harvest can be gathered in the shortest possible time.

3. The unhampered return of all refugees must be secured. The state authorities and other subjects are charged with making preparations for the return of refugees to their homes as soon as possible.

4. The members of the SFRY Presidency's Commission and the government of the Republic of Croatia and the Serbian people from Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, represented by three representatives each, will visit tomorrow, 9 August, at 1300 the villages of Dalj and Sarvas to solve the pressing problems in these villages. A working group set up by the Federal Executive Council and a representative of the municipal Assembly of Osijek will also take part in this work.

5. The individuals detained on the basis of the lists previously received by the Commission should be released by 1800 on 9 August, and work should be resumed on establishing the identity of missing individuals. In the course of releasing these individuals it is necessary to insure that they undergo a regular medical check-up.

This task will be carried out by a group comprising member of the SFRY Presidency commission Vlado Kambovski, the Federal Secretary for Justice and Administration, representatives of the government of the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the Serbian nation from Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem.

6. The agreed cease-fire must be implemented in conjunction with lifting the blockade on all communications on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Ambulances and vehicles carrying medical and veterinary teams should be immediately enabled, as a matter of priority and with no conditions attached, to move freely while food, water and electricity supplies and postal and phone services should be normalized.

In the course of further activities it is necessary to lift the blockade of built-up areas.

7. The question of compensation for the damage inflicted by these events must be raised.

8. Cease-fire controls must be exercised in keeping with the SFRY Presidency's decision.

It was also stated that in future such meetings of the working groups should also include representatives of the municipalities of Osijek, Vukovar, and Vinkovci as well as those of other municipalities when problems in these areas are discussed.

Chief on Observer Teams

LD0908121891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1041 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 9 (TANJUG)—Branko Kostic, president of the state commission for overseeing the cease-fire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and a member of the Yugoslav Presidency, told the BELGRADE daily POLITIKA today that the formation of observer groups was in progress and that monitor teams of the Federal Interior Secretariat should on Monday be joined by observers from the Interior Secretariats of the Republics of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia.

Slovenia yesterday refused to send its observers to Croatia, where fierce clashes between Croatian armed forces and armed units of the Serb population raged for three months until the cease-fire decision adopted on August 6.

According to Kostic, three observer bases will be set up in the crisis regions—one in the region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, one in Banija and Kordun, and the third in Krajina.

The observer teams will have at their disposal various vehicles and specially-marked helicopters, Kostic said, adding that the markings had been cleared by the commission.

The cease-fire will be controlled by the observers in cooperation with representatives of both parties in the conflict, Kostic said.

He said the commission's task was to establish the party responsible for any cease-fire violation and the manner in which this was done, and to make public its findings.

"Apart from this, the teams will also monitor the demarcation zone, which should be 800 metres wide, exactly the range of small-arms fire," Kostic said.

International

BORBA Cited on EC Cease-Fire Documents

LD0808133691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1236 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 9 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today reveals a number of hitherto

unknown details about "the agreement on ceasefire" in the republic of Croatia and "the memorandum of understanding" drafted by the European Community ministerial troika.

The two documents were not signed during the troika's mission in Belgrade on August 4.

The Yugoslav public was only informed about the existence of "the memorandum of understanding and extension of the monitoring mission to the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia", which was mentioned by the head of the mission, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek.

BORBA says that the EC troika had closely collaborated with Chairman of the State Ceasefire Control Commission Branko Kostic.

The memorandum was to be annexed to the ceasefire agreement based on the Yugoslav Presidency's decision of August 2 on an absolute and unconditional ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The agreement says that the memorandum is drafted by the European Community and its member-states, but adds that besides the Yugoslav institutions, the EC observer mission extends its activities to Croatia on the proposal of the Yugoslav Presidency commission, notes BORBA.

"The memorandum deals mostly with defining the EC mandate and operative and technical questions", it explains.

The memorandum says the mandate would start immediately after the signing of the two documents and continue until October 13, unless the interested parties decided to extend it, says BORBA.

The paper goes on to say that, should the need arise on the Yugoslav side, the monitoring mission could be carried outside Croatian territory.

The memorandum makes it clear that the members of the EC mission—at least 200 observers from different countries—would only monitor all actions of withdrawal and disarmament, says BORBA.

Citing the text of the documents, the paper concludes that the explanation offered by the representatives of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia [words indistinct] signing the agreement and the memorandum sounds "well-justified and convincing", because they were opposed to the arrival of foreign observers even if they wore plain clothes.

BORBA, however, denies the credibility of Serbia's second explanation that it has no reason to sign anything because it is not involved in the conflict.

For instance, the representatives of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are also not involved in the conflict

in Croatian territory, but they did not put obstacles in the way to signing the documents, says BORBA.

Tudjman Views Events With French Diplomats

*LD0808161991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today received French Ambassador Michel Chatelais and the French Council (Bernard Mourbiere) in Zagreb. President Tudjman detailed for them the positions of the Republic of Croatia on the Republic of Serbia's intentions regarding the conquest of Croatia and other republics, on the failure of the EC mission in Yugoslavia, and on the decisions that the EC Ministerial Council adopted in The Hague.

The two sides agreed that the EC peace mission should certainly be continued so the cease-fire may be secured and the EC initiative on the democratic resolution of the political crisis implemented. The French ambassador confirmed that the declaration made at the meeting of the EC Ministerial Council is in the spirit of French policy, which, both by its standpoints in principle and by concrete measures, wishes to contribute to the (?establishment) and security of the internal and external borders of Yugoslavia.

Soviet Envoy Claims No EC Failure

*LD0908050591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2326 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, August 8 (TANJUG)—The European mission did not suffer a failure in Yugoslavia and "all who believe that it was a failure are wrong," Soviet Ambassador Vadim Longinov stated this evening in an interview to Belgrade TV Politika.

"No diplomatic mission can settle a question so to say in a single try," said Ambassador Longinov. He noted that Yugoslavs are the main participants in the Yugoslav crisis and that "all others can only participate, while the conflict can be dealt with by Yugoslavs alone."

The decision of the Yugoslav Presidency on an unconditional termination of armed clashes in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has created "fresh chances for the opening of a new process" which could lead out of the crisis, the Soviet ambassador said.

He described the situation in Yugoslavia now as "much better than three days ago" and added that "patience and the good will of all parties in the conflict and all Yugoslav peoples may lead to the establishment of stability in Yugoslavia."

Slovenia

Drnovsek Comments on Army Withdrawal

*LD0808143191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, member of the Yugoslav Presidency, has disputed claims about the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] withdrawal from Slovenia made by Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa at yesterday's news conference.

Jansa said that there is a possibility that the YPA withdrawal from Slovenia will last longer than planned, and in this context he cited a possibility of fresh attacks, that is, of YPA intervention in Slovenia. The YPA withdrawal from Slovenia could be just a tactical move aimed at "attacking Slovenia," Jansa claimed.

Janez Drnovsek, in a statement from Slovene Radio last night, said that this is quite unlikely, because why would the Army withdraw from Slovenia if it did not intend to leave it. "If it wanted to create problems, why would it agree to withdrawal within three months...An agreement was reached with the Army," Drnovsek said and then allowed for a possibility that "some generals are not happy with the agreement." The Supreme Command Staff agreed to it. The Yugoslav Presidency made the appropriate decision "and, I believe, there are no problems with this. That [an attack on Slovenia] is as likely as a natural disaster...As far as I know, nothing has changed in the military top ranks." He confirmed this with the claim that general Kadijevic and Admiral Brovet are guaranteeing that "the federal army will abide strictly by its obligations and it will complete withdrawal on time."

Bucar Appeals for West's Recognition

*LD0808165191 Hamburg DPA in English
1603 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Ljubljana/Hameln (DPA)—In the words of Slovenian Assembly President Franc Bucar, Slovenia will head for economic disaster if the West does not soon grant recognition under international law to the rebellious Yugoslav republic. There must "finally be signals in the West, which will safeguard money and investments in Slovenia. Without recognition we can expect a difficult period," Bucar said, evidently fearing renewed attacks by the Serb-dominated federal army; he was speaking in a prereleased interview today in the DEISTER-UND WESERZEITUNG.

Bucar added that support from Austria is certainly sought in Slovenia, and under certain circumstances even economic union. However, people in Ljubljana are under no illusions about the scope for cooperation of this nature.

Council Statement Regarding Cease-Fire Reported

AU0808153091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1330 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] The Slovene Assembly Executive Council adopted a statement at its session today regarding the cooperation of the units of the Slovene Ministry of the Internal Affairs in the supervision of the cease-fire in Croatia. The statement has been drawn up by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among other things, the statement contains the following:

In compliance with the position of the Republic of Slovenia that the establishment of peace is a prerequisite for the initiation of negotiations on the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, Slovenia has been striving continually for an immediate cease-fire in Croatia and to secure adequate supervision of its implementation. Slovenia supported the initiative that the EC observers mission mandate be extended to Croatia as well, because this is the only possible way to efficiently prevent the continuation of the aggression upon our neighboring republic and further bloodshed.

Slovenia has proved with its attitude toward the Brioni Declaration that it is ready and capable to constructively help in resolving the situation in a manner agreed to with the help of the EC. Therefore, the Executive Council of the Republic of Slovenia was particularly concerned when Serbia refused the offer of the ministers' troika that the situation in Croatia be resolved in a similar and nonviolent manner. We support the efforts of the SFRY Presidency for an immediate cease-fire in the Croatian crisis areas. However, we have also established that the basic conditions that would make these efforts have a lasting effect and that would facilitate objective supervision of the end of hostilities have not been secured.

The Executive Council believes that the development of current events has demonstrated it is not possible to improve the situation in Croatia without the internationalization of this question. As Serbia refused the presence of foreign observers, the Republic of Slovenia has been given no assurances that all parties will actually refrain from the use of violence, and that the personal security of the members of the supervisory commission, proposed by the SFRY Presidency, will be guaranteed.

In such circumstances the Executive Council cannot accept the proposal of the SFRY Presidency that the members of the Slovene Ministry for Internal Affairs also participate in the commission supervising the cease-fire in the Croatian crisis areas.

Croatia

Tudjman Optimistic About Croatian Serbs

AU0808222691 Vienna ORF Television Network
in German 2058 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Paul Lendvai; place and date not given—recorded; Tudjman statements in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Lendvai] President Tudjman, do you still see a way out for Croatia today in this dramatic situation?

[Tudjman] We have to find a solution and a way out. Despite all the previous failures, I still hope that we can avoid a general war. I think that the Serbian forces will be forced to take up negotiations to find a peaceful solution for the Yugoslav crisis because, after all, they are not only confronted with the Croatian people's determination, but also with support for Croatia from the whole EC.

[Lendvai] Do you believe that the position of Croatia and your personal position have now been strengthened by this grand coalition, with this government of national unity?

[Tudjman] By all means. The victory of democracy in the first free elections in Croatia was already very convincing, perhaps even more convincing than in many previously socialist countries, also because of the creation of a government of democratic unity in which there are also Serbian representatives. Today I received representatives of the Serbian People's Party, who also want to participate in the government. All this is an indication that democracy in Croatia is firmly supported, the Croatian people are of one mind, and that all Croatian citizens basically agree on the resistance to Serbian aggression with the objective of creating a Greater Serbia.

[Lendvai] Would it not have been possible earlier to also take Serbs into your government and make more gestures toward the Serbian ethnic group in Croatia?

[Tudjman] We did everything to get representatives of the Serbs. We have Serbian representatives on the communist list in the elections to the Croatian Assembly. We offered membership in the government to the representative of the radical Serbian party, Mr. Raskovic, that is, the office of vice president, although he had only four seats. But he declined this, apparently, according to an agreement with those in favor of a Greater Serbia in Belgrade. Thus, we did everything to also get Serbian representatives. However, the circles that strove for the involvement of the extreme part of the Serbian population of Croatia in the plans for the creation of a greater Serbia were predominant.

[Lendvai] How do you assess today the situation in the areas that are mostly inhabited by Serbs? Has the Croatian leadership, have you—permit me to use a pathetic expression—lost the souls of the Serbs in Croatia or is there still hope to win over some of the Serbs?

[Tudjman] I am of the opinion that this is even the greater part. Today I visited a refugee group in which there were also Serbs. There were Serbian people, Serbian mothers. The representatives of the Serbian People's Party only said that the majority of Serbian citizens are actually in favor of recognizing the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, but that they are exposed to the

terror of the extreme Chetnik elements and the leaders of the idea of secession—people who were taken here from Serbia. Nevertheless, they hope to solve the question you have asked together with us, that is to say, that the larger part of the Serbs can be won for peaceful coexistence in Croatia.

[Lendvai] But it is said that a certain polarization also took place in the political class of Croatia after these attacks from Serbia and that pressure is put on you for having given in too much.

[Tudjman] Yes, it is understandable that the atrocities that Croatia had to suffer during the attacks from these Chetnik units caused justifiable bitterness among the Croatian people, which was also hard to prevent—that is, during attacks that were made by Serbia and supported by the Yugoslav Army, during which whole Croatian villages were destroyed and the Croatian population had to seek safety in flight.

Of course, in everyday political life in Croatia, those extreme circles who were of the opinion that war should be accepted, that the Serbian question should be solved by war, and that this plan should be opposed by all means, even by general war if Serbia wants to create a Greater Serbia, also found expression, which I personally and the majority of the Croatian political forces did not accept—simply to prevent heavy casualties and because we hoped that we would be able to achieve a peaceful solution with Europe's support.

[Lendvai] In short, what can the international community do to help Croatia and put an end to the bloodshed in general?

[Tudjman] I am of the opinion that the most effective means would be the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, because this would internationalize the armed conflict and force Serbia to the negotiating table. This would also make a peace conference possible, that is, under the aegis of the EC, the CSCE, or the United Nations. I think that recognizing Croatia as soon as possible would serve peace and also prevent the expansion of the war.

[Lendvai] Do you perceive a change in the attitude of world public opinion and the European states in particular toward Croatia and Slovenia?

[Tudjman] Yes. I can state with satisfaction that this has not only had a strong influence on public opinion in Croatia, but one has finally started to talk of the necessity of a cease-fire in Belgrade. Thus, one was able to read, for example, in the Belgrade paper *POLITIKA* in an interview with Dobrice Cosic, who is rightly regarded as one of the creators of this greater Serbian program, that he also holds that one has to strive for a peaceful solution.

Accordingly, the changes that were expressed in the attitude of the EC as a whole are important, particularly Austria's and Germany's open opposition to aggression, as well as the major change in France's attitude.

All that is very important. I think that this means support for us, that such an attitude of the EC and even of the United States,—that is, joint efforts—could prevent the worst after all. I hope that the Soviet Union will not oppose this, and that the danger of a war that emanates from this part of Europe and may also spread to other parts of Europe can also be prevented.

[Lendvai] One last question: Do you believe that there is still time for the international community and for pressure to be put on the, so to speak, agitators in Serbia?

[Tudjman] Yes. But one would have to act very quickly. I believe that the decisions of the crisis mechanism of the Helsinki conference and the demand for the discussion of the Yugoslav crisis by the Security Council should be implemented as soon as possible. I think that one should not only strive for a peace conference to solve the Yugoslav crisis, but also for the dispatch of peacekeeping troops, either by the EC or the Security Council.

Recognition 'Would Serve Peace'

*AU0808185091 Vienna ORF Television Network
in German 1730 GMT 8 Aug 91*

["Exclusive" interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by ORF correspondent Paul Lendvai—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] In an exclusive ORF interview, Croatian President Tudjman said that Croatia's recognition would be the best means to prevent the expansion of the war. In an extended newscast at 2255 [2355 GMT], you will be able to see the complete interview.

In answer to the question about what the international community of states could do to put an end to the bloodshed, Tudjman said:

[Begin recording] [Tudjman, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation] I am of the opinion that the most effective means would be the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, because this would internationalize the armed conflict and force Serbia to the negotiating table. This would also make a peace conference possible, that is, under the aegis of the EC, the CSCE, or the United Nations. I think that recognizing Croatia as soon as possible would serve peace and also prevent the expansion of the war.

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Army Preparing Decisive Blow

AU0808165191 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network
in German 1600 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Gerhard Seifried report]

[Text] Today the Croat at the head of the State Presidency, Stipe Mesic, emphatically pointed out the mobilization of the Army in the border areas with Croatia.

Against the background of an armistice, which is largely but not completely observed, fears that the Army is preparing for a decisive blow are increasing in Zagreb. [Croatian] President Franjo Tudjman stated this to Austrian parliamentarians in a talk that lasted for about one hour. Tudjman pressed for an international peace conference on Yugoslavia and appealed to the Austrian deputies to advocate the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. This would help us very much, Tudjman said. Croatia has no other choice but to bank on peaceful solutions. The mood of the people is in favor of total defense, but there are not enough weapons, he said. Many Serbs in Croatia were armed under pressure. It is intended to grant territorial autonomy to all minorities in Croatia, Tudjman told the Austrians.

The Croatian president adamantly denied plans for a greater Croatia. Tudjman and Serbia's Milosevic are still miles apart. Andreas Kohl, deputy of the Austrian People's Party [OeVP], said after today's meeting. Croatia's and Slovenia's recognition by Austria at the present time would disturb the process of negotiations, Kohl said.

Tomorrow morning talks will be held with Slovene top politicians in Ljubljana.

Tomac: Government Will Accept 'Compromises'

LD0908135791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—We will accept all acceptable compromises without bringing into question the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia Zdravko Tomac, the vice president of the new Croatian government, said today at a news conference in the Croatian Assembly.

Talking on behalf of the government of democratic unity, Tomac said that the government is ready to fight for peace to its utter limits, but it will not be naive. It would simultaneously prepare for defense. We are aware that Croatia did not start war, that it does not want foreign territories, but that Croatia is attacked, Tomac said.

Talking about government strategy, Tomac, who is a representative of the opposition Democratic Changes Party in the government, assessed that "those who attacked us cannot change," but Croatia will force them to renounce their strategy and, in this sense, Croatia expects help from the world democratic public.

Tomac listed conditions for peace. Serbia must give up its claims over Croatian territories; Serbia must acknowledge Croatia's sovereignty; Croatia will acknowledge the sovereignty of Serbia and all other republics. "This will be the starting point for finding a peaceful dissociation and possibilities for a new association," the vice president of the Croatian government stressed.

Talking about the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], Tomac asked the army "to really recognize the Croatian government." Croatia is ready to offer an agreement to the army and resolve by agreement all issues regarding dissociation and the army status, Tomac promised.

He finally stressed that a draft for defining the status of the Serbs in Croatia is being developed. "Croatia is ready to talk with the Serbs in Croatia about all issues except one: It is not ready to talk to those who with guns in their blooded hands want to take a part of the Croatian territory," Tomac said.

Tomac finally offered amnesty "to all those who were led astray", but he added: "Stay assured that this government will put on trial for war crimes all those who deserved it."

Luka Bebic, the new Croatian Defence minister, announced that the concept of territorial defense will be revived. He called on Serbs in Croatia to join the National Guard Corps and other forms of defense. Answering journalists' questions, Bebic accused the YPA for—as he put it—re-positioning very expensive modern equipment from Croatia to other republics.

Bebic called on reserve officers, as well as all military experts who left the YPA for various reasons, to join the National Guard Corps. "We are ready to involve all these people in the Croatian defense system," Bebic said and added that some have joined the system "where the need had arisen and where we had appropriate equipment."

At the news conference, it was announced that prisoners would be exchanged, about which—as government ministers put it—difficult negotiations are underway. Although the exchange is not fully justified, it will be carried out for humanitarian reasons. Bosiljko Misetic, the new Justice and Administration Minister, explained that in exchanging prisoners, "the other side" is not recognized. He also denied some previous statements by Croatian leaders that they would not negotiate with outlaws and "those whose hands are bloody."

Respecting the principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty, the Croatian government will negotiate with representatives of the Serbian people. He, however, failed to explain how the government will select representatives of the Serbian people. Vice President Tomac said that no one else but representatives of the Serbs in Croatia can enter negotiations. The Croatian government will not negotiate with the Republic of Serbia and Slobodan Milosevic, Tomac specified.

VJESNIK Views Continuing Problems

LD0808160691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1043 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 8 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK today reports that the ceasefire between the warring sides in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia should be taken with much caution. In an editorial entitled "Ceasefire or Trick" VJESNIK assesses that the decision on a ceasefire does not show any signs of a political denouement of the Yugoslav drama.

VJESNIK writes that three political problems have yet to be solved once the ceasefire becomes effective.

The first is the position of the Yugoslav army and its relations with the Republic of Croatia, including the means and deadlines for its withdrawal from Croatia, as VJESNIK reports, in agreement with the latest decisions adopted by Croatian parliament.

The second problem is how to resolve through agreements the problem of local self-administration in relation with political and cultural autonomy of Serbs in Croatia.

The third problem is that of borders, and, as this daily which is close to the Croatian government reports, this Yugoslav republic is ready to accept only that solution which recognizes the current republican boundaries within Yugoslavia.

VJESNIK recalls that Croatia wants the Yugoslav crisis to be internationalized. At this moment, Europe is being tested on the Yugoslav crisis and the situation in Croatia, as presently the most unpredictable one, to see and establish if it is capable of executing a common foreign policy (and subsequently a defence policy and a policy regarding the security of the continent), VJESNIK assesses.

HDZ Spokesman Denies Party Coup

LD0808162591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1240 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 8 (TANJUG)—Ante Beljo, secretary of the ruling party in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), said at a regular press conference in Zagreb today that no putsch had been attempted against the party's leadership.

"There exist no differences in views in the HDZ, especially in regard to the methods of resolving operational problems," Beljo said, adding that the "HDZ has no intention of introducing any form of democratic centralism."

He said that in his view the party had come out of the often bitter quarrels over political decisions more united than ever.

Ahead of last week's reconstruction of the Croatian government, which Beljo described as a government of

democratic unity rather than a coalition one, there were conflicts in the party and even indications that the replacement of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had been demanded.

HDZ Official Urges Resistance to Armed Serbs

LD0808161591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1449 GMT 08 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 8 (TANJUG)—Stipan Herceg, vice-president of the ruling party in Croatia—the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), called today upon all the citizens of this Yugoslav republic to start fighting against terrorists, as the armed Serbs in Croatia are called by the authorities.

At a press conference, Herceg accused the Republic of Serbia, saying that an aggression against Croatia was directed from its territory. He brought similar charges against the Yugoslav army.

The Yugoslav Presidency declared on Tuesday a ceasefire in Croatia, on the basis of an agreement with all the parties to the conflict. The Croatian government announced yesterday it was accepting the decision but not the terms for its implementation.

Serbia has several times denied its having interfered in the conflicts in Croatia. The Serbian opposition has requested the formation of a republican army, but this was refused by the Serbian authorities. The Yugoslav Army has intermittently stressed that it has never been first to start firing, but only returned fire after being attacked by the Croatian police and guard.

Herceg declared today that the criminal code, not the war law, would be applied to the armed terrorists fighting against the Croatian authorities.

In Croatia's predominantly Serbian-populated settlements, the armed Serbs say they are defending their homes from the attacks of The croatian police.

The so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina covers thirteen municipalities populated by Serbs in central Croatia. Krajina has formed its police, which is not recognized by the Croatian authorities. The Serbs from Banija, another region in Croatia, have formed what they call the 7th Banian Division.

Zagreb Preparing for 'Efficient Defense'

LD0908132391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—Mladen Vedris president of the Zagreb Assembly Executive Council, said at today's news conference that Zagreb is preparing for an efficient defense in case of an attack on the town, but also for offering more support in defense of the whole of the republic. He introduced to the journalists, among his other colleagues, the commander of the Zagreb Corps for the defense of the town of Zagreb, Stjepan Mates,

stressing that with the formation of this corps, a united organization, command, and management of the armed forces, which are made up of the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the National Guard, and the Territorial Defense, have been introduced.

He said the units are well equipped, and that "the Croatian industry for the production of arms has also started." Various kinds of weapons are produced, not only infantry weapons but also "more complex ones," said Vedris. The industrial potential of Croatia is such that it can convert quickly to the production of infantry, but also artillery, weapons and even tanks, it was stressed at the news conference.

Zagreb has sufficient quantities of goods reserves and it can therefore endure a long period of crisis. There are reserves of some vital products for six months, it was said. The shelters are situated in the town, there are around 900 of them. They are well organized, and the civil defense also has sufficient equipment. The reception of the refugees is well organized in Zagreb, and there are nearly 6,000 of them, it was quoted, in the town at present.

In reply to a journalist's question as to how they should protect themselves from "robbery" of Croatian property by Serbia, Mladen Vedris said Croatia will probably "freeze" the Serbian properties in Croatia, from socially owned enterprises to private summer houses. "This is in the context of war reparations", explained Vedris.

Assembly 'Partially' Freezes Serbian Ties

LD0808154391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Croatia has decided to partially freeze relations with the Republic of Serbia, (Croatian) Trade Minister, Petar Kriste told a news conference today at the Croatian Assembly. "Goods and commodities of strategic importance are included on the list of embargoed goods and there will be no trading with them," Kriste said. Regarding other commodities and relations, individual Croatian enterprises will make decisions, "bearing in mind risks awaiting them on the Serbian market," Kriste said. The minister noted that Serbian enterprises owe five billion dinars to Croatian counterparts.

According to Energy Minister Enco Tirelli, end products of the energy industry and industry as a whole are of strategic importance. It is known that oil derivatives are under embargo, but the Republic of Croatia will honor the agreement on the use of the oil supply network. Individual ministries are charged with drawing up a list of other goods of strategic importance.

"Regarding the property of the Republic of Serbia on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the government has adopted two regulations, which are not tantamount to confiscation but are only temporary measures," Petar

Kriste told journalists. One says "that hotels on our coast are used primarily for sheltering refugees," the minister said. He went on to hint that more decisions on freezing of the relations in the social activity area will be announced soon.

Asked what benefits Croatia will have from the freezing of the relations, Minister Kriste said: "It is natural that we shall put a number of goods of strategic importance under embargo, irrespective of financial and economic gains and losses."

SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic joined the news conference, saying "other republics must not feel consequences of this move of the Croatian government," but he failed to explain how this could be achieved.

Agreement To Prevent Further Bloodshed Reported

LD0808152191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1407 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 8 (TANJUG)—A member of the State Commission for a Cease-fire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Vice President of the Federal Assembly Irfan Ajanovic, today said that there is a high degree of accord among all parties to immediately cease and prevent further bloodshed.

The conflicting sides are ready to cooperate with the cease-fire commission and no one is posing conditions which at this point is particularly important, underscored Ajanovic at a news conference.

This was the first news conference of the cease-fire commission, which announced that it would submit daily reports to the public.

Clashes in Croatia continue between the armed units of the republic and the Serbian population and its armed units. The Yugoslav State Presidency on Tuesday proclaimed an unconditional cease-fire which went into effect yesterday morning. The Yugoslav Presidency set up a cease-fire commission, headed by the Presidency's Vice President Branko Kostic of the Republic of Montenegro.

Ajanovic said that the commission on some questions expects help from the international community, above all from an observer mission of the European Community (E.C.). Still, as matters are proceeding well, we hope to be able to seek out a settlement on our own, Ajanovic concluded.

Slavonia Incidents Defy Cease-Fire

AU0808202891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Although there are no gunfire, explosions, and other signs of war to the extent observed during the past days, it is not possible to say, despite the truce, that it

was peaceful in the true sense of that word in the areas of Slavonia, Baranja, and West Srem. Let us see what our reports have to say:

[Reporter] As may have been expected, the truce in the autonomous region of Slavonia, Baranja, and West Srem, was observed by only one side. One may have known ahead of time that this large number of armed civilians, some of whom are still so young, could not be controlled, particularly because in their recklessness and lack of responsibility, they are protected by the status of foreign citizenship. [stranack pripadnost]

As early as 2300 hours in Vukovar, in the area of Gornji Grad, gunfire was heard. At the same time in Nova Street there was a powerful explosion which set a house on fire. Firemen took a long time to put the fire out.

On several occasions MUP [Internal Affairs Ministry] forces fired in the direction of Psadin and Trpinja, although the information workshop of the HPV [expansion unknown], as usual, presented this in the opposite way.

The truce was violated also in Otjezbe commune. In the neighboring villages of Aba and Laslov several machine gun bursts were exchanged while six mortars were fired in Ceminac. Belo Brdo was also a target of attack. Several mortar shells were fired from the direction of Sarvas and several times Darda was fired upon. Sporadic firing was also noted in willow groves and corn fields near (?Bugojevac) Bridge, which mostly reflected the fear of the MUP and Guards remainders defeated in the recent battle for the Dalj village.

In Vinkovci there was an armed attack on the Yugoslav People's Army. Unknown individuals opened machine-gun fire on the barracks from a car. The military responded firmly, in accordance with the orders of the General Staff. There were no Army casualties.

Belgrade TV Reports on Slavonia Violence

AU0808205291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Djordje Raseta report from Slavonija]

[Text] There is no peace in Slavonia tonight either, and the SFRY Presidency decision on cease-fire is not being obeyed. Shots were fired around Erdut and at the Brotherhood-Unity Bridge. Our team was in Bijelo Brdo. An exchange of prisoners was scheduled to take place there. Precisely on time, members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the National Guard were brought from the direction of Dalj. However, the other, Croatian side did not appear. Thus, this peaceful action failed.

Members of the Yugoslav People's Army have played a humane peace-keeping role.

On their way back from Bijelo Brdo, shots were fired at the teams from Belgrade Television and the Belgrade Radio. Fortunately none of us were injured.

Here is one more item at the end of this report: We experienced real artillery fire in Tenja the night before last. The forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard have shown as usual that they are not selective about their targets. They just shoot at people.

Serbia

Jovic Views EC Failure, 'War' in Croatia

AU0808170491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] SFRY Presidency representative Borisav Jovic and president of the main committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], spoke at the discussion forum on the sociopolitical situation organized by the Kula SPS Communal Committee. This is what he said about the failure of the EC mission:

[Begin Jovic recording] [word indistinct] intention is to make Serbia say that it is a participant in the war, that is, that it is an aggressor against the Republic of Croatia, and to do so by asking the Republic of Serbia to sign a peace agreement with the Republic of Croatia. The Republic of Serbia is not at war with the Republic of Croatia.

A war is waged in Croatia by the armed forces of Croatia and the Croatian leadership, against the armed forces of the Serbian people which have rebelled against the Croatian authorities because these authorities are threatening the basic rights of the Serbian people: The right to self-determination, and the basic national rights accorded them by the Constitution.

The other thing that the EC wanted to (?force) by its visit is to change the decision of a legal state entity, the SFRY Presidency, which (?represents) the sovereignty of the country, that we are going to exercise control over the truce ourselves, with our own forces. [end recording]

Europe's attempt to force military observers on us, ignoring the will of the sovereign bodies of Yugoslavia, naturally had to lead to the failure of the mission. We can by no means be blamed for that.

Regarding the SFRY Presidency cease-fire decision, Jovic said that conditions have been created for a truce that is not a solution, but represents a condition for seeking a political way out of the crisis.

[Begin Jovic recording] We cannot state how things are going to proceed, but we can claim that in the upcoming negotiations we cannot sacrifice the interests of the Serbian people. [end recording]

Jovic then spoke on the economic difficulties, which are really great, but also consequences of mistakes made in the past and mistakes made by the Federal Government.

He added, however, that he is profoundly convinced that the Serbian people are ready to invest great efforts to find a way out of the crisis.

Serbia, Slovenia To Continue Economic Cooperation

LD0808194491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1810 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, August 8 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian and Serbian governments have agreed to continue and promote economic cooperation, Slovenian Industry Minister Izidor Rejc said today.

Businessmen and managers of major Slovenian and Serbian companies have expressed an unequivocal desire to continue to promote their cooperation, Rejc told journalists, informing them on results of the recent Belgrade meetings with Serbian government representatives and businessmen.

It was agreed that the cooperation would be promoted by both governments and upon initiatives by businessmen themselves, Rejc said. It was also agreed that legal proceedings and property would be respected and a normal flow of goods enabled. Businessmen in both republics should request their governments to agree on the most appropriate form of cooperation once the moratorium is over, said Rejc.

'Chetnik Provocations' Reported in Kosovo

AU0808132391

[Editorial Report] Pristina BUJKU in Albanian on 1 August carries on pages three and 16 five correspondents' reports of between 100 and 200 words on Serbian "provocations" of Kosovo Albanians.

On page three, an R. Reshani report from Urosevac dated 31 July, under the headline, "All Forms of Violence Used to Provoke the Albanians," states:

"The occupation forces have been intensifying in recent days their campaign of provocation and maltreatment of the innocent Albanian population. For instance, as the Urosevac Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms has reported, a group of armed Serbs provoked and harassed the inhabitants of the village of Gracke at about 2100 on the evening of 27 July, sounding automobile horns and firing automatic rifles. The sub-branch of the Youth Forum at Softoviq reports that police forces have recently been concentrated in this village, and in two cases military helicopters have landed in the place known as Serbol, bringing unknown people who watched the village for several hours. It has also been reported that communications equipment has been seen being carried into the village church. The report states that this campaign of provocation and harassment of the Albanian population is being led by local members of the Peony Organization, who were even in the past known as sworn anti-Albanians.

"Meanwhile, the Presidium of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] sub-branch in Kosine reports that on 29 July several dozen military trucks filled with Serbian reservists equipped with all kinds of weapons were stationed from the early hours of the morning on the hill of Llojze, where they stayed until 1500. Besides causing distress among the villagers, the Serbian reservists provoked passers-by, especially children and shepherds from the villages of Lloshkobare and Kosine. Because a large number of hard-drinking reservists have been observed among the stores of villages round Urosevac in recent days, LDK sub-branches appeal to shopkeepers to be on the alert and not to stock large quantities of alcohol on their premises."

On the same page, an undated "C.M." report, under the headline, "Serbian and Montenegrin Citizens Mobilized," states:

"The territorial defense authorities of Decani Commune, which have fallen entirely into the hands of Serbs and Montenegrins, have mobilized the local Serbian and Montenegrin population. The mobilized citizens set off today for Pec, to join reservist forces. Well-informed sources report that hordes of Chetniks were observed yesterday evening in several villages, including Llocan, a village of mixed population. Noticing these movements, Albanian citizens of the villages concerned stayed on watch all night in order to prevent a possible massacre."

On the same page, an unattributed report from Istok, dated 31 July, under the headline, "Warmongering Activities of Chetnik Hordes," states:

"Movements of Chetnik hordes in the area of Banje near Pec and their deployment in certain places among the local Albanian population have increased people's vigilance. Such movements cannot be construed as anything other than a summons to war and bloodshed.

"For instance, three nine-millimeter bullets struck the cafe of the pensioners' club during working hours on 29 July. According to witnesses, the weapon used was equipped with a silencer. One bullet missed a waiter by a whisker, and hit an ashtray on the table at which he was serving. It is supposed that the cafe was fired on from the upper floors of the Onik Hotel. The bullet found in the cafe and the ashtray will be sent to the Pristina Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms. The militia also checked customers' identity cards in Mete Krasniqi's cafe, and raided the owner's apartment, breaking down the door, and ransacking the apartments' contents. Not finding any weapons, the militia took away a calendar decorated with an eagle.

"Volleys of automatic rifle fire from Serbs and Montenegrins were heard in the village of Banice for more than one hour, starting at midday on 30 July. Parades of armed civilians and Chetniks with Pinzgauers are increasing even further local inhabitants' distress and concern.

"The Presidium of the LDK's sub-branch in Banje near Pec calls on all members to remain as united as possible and to increase their vigilance for their own safety and self-protection, at this serious time for their own destiny and that of Kosovo."

On page 16, a "Sh. P." report from Vucitrn dated 31 July, under the headline, "Chetnik Provocation," states:

"Three Army Pinzgauers with about 30 men in Army uniforms descended from Cucavica and halted in front of the Vucitrn Communal Assembly at precisely 1115 yesterday. During their 10-minute stay, the Chetniks used the opportunity to provoke passers-by by singing Chetnik songs praising Draza Mihajlovic, Kalabic, and Milosevic."

"They demonstrated the close ties between the Army and the Chetniks by brandishing automatic rifles and knives and waving three fingers in the air. However, thanks to their cool heads, local citizens did not fall into the trap of this provocation. Such Chetnik provocations have become daily occurrences in the villages of Vucitrn Commune at the foot of Cucavica. Not even the crops in Albanian fields are spared."

On page 16, a "Z.H." report from Djakovica, dated 31 July, under the headline "Looting and Threats Have Also Begun," states:

"According to reports from the LDK sub-branch in Ponoshec, Serbian and Montenegrin reservists dressed in military uniforms stationed themselves on the hill called Pllanik in this village at the end of last week. Their number is continually increasing. After conducting exercises, they began to loot and threaten local citizens. For instance, they broke into the Rilindja kiosk in the most brutal and vandalistic way on 28 July, stealing large quantities of cigarettes and other goods. Because of the looting and threats, almost all the shops in the village have closed. A 90 year-old man, Abdyl Rexha, was threatened with the words: 'Shout long live the king, or we will kill you.'

"It has also been noticed that several refugees from Albania of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have joined the ranks of the reservists stationed in Ponoshec."

Pristina Corps Commander Interviewed

AU0808123291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Interview with Major General Miloslav Radmanovic, commander of the Pristina corps of the Yugoslav People's Army, by Milivoje Mihajlovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Kosovo and Metohija are often mentioned as trouble spots and even the possible location for a war in

Yugoslavia. Major General Miloslav Radmanovic, commander of the Pristina corps of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], speaks about what the situation is really like there.

[Mihajlovic] Comrade General, the increasingly difficult situation in Kosovo and Metohija is having an effect on the situation in units of the YPA, and there is even talk of opening a southern front. How would you assess the combat readiness of the units of the Pristina corps?

[Radmanovic] I can say with full responsibility that the Pristina corps is an elite unit of our Army, consisting of quality personnel and equipped with the most up-to-date resources and other military equipment. The corps's units are commanded by young and qualified officers who are oriented toward Yugoslavia and devoted to their Army and homeland.

All this indicates that our corps is ready and able to successfully oppose any enemy in even the most difficult circumstances.

[Mihajlovic] Many details everyday life in Kosovo indicate that attempts are being made here to create the same scenario as in Slovenia. Could this be repeated in Kosovo and Metohija?

[Radmanovic] The honest Albanian people have never been afraid of us and consider us to be their own army. However, this bothers the separatists who are trying to destroy all bridges of friendship and cooperation. They will certainly not succeed in this, and they should be afraid of us.

I am convinced that the mistakes that were made during the employment of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army in carrying out tasks in Slovenia will not and cannot be repeated in this region.

[Mihajlovic] Soldiers from all areas of Yugoslavia serve in the units of the Pristina corps. What can you tell their parents who certainly fear for their safety and their lives?

[Radmanovic] In the last few days, we have had parents come from the Republic of Croatia who asked the officers not to allow their sons to go home once they had finished their military service because they would then immediately be mobilized in the [Croatian] Guard. All this shows that soldiers trust their officers who devote all their attention to caring about the lives and health of the soldiers. We will continue to behave like this in the future; of this you can be sure.

Albanian, U.S. Impact on Kosovo Secession Viewed

LD0908103191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0925 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) weekly NARODNA ARMIJA says in its latest issue that the opening of U.S. military bases in Albania could assist in a secession of Kosovo from the

Yugoslav republic of Serbia and its subsequent annexation to neighbouring Albania.

'Albania would use an American base on the island of Sazan to claim the support of American military might in order to exert pressure on Yugoslavia to allow the formation of a "Republic of Kosovo" and its annexation to Kosovo,' NARODNA ARMIJA says.

The weekly says it was President of the Democratic Party of Albania Sali Berisha who offered Washington sites for bases on Sazan and the Bay of Vlore (Valona).

'Given that Albania cannot boast armed forces which would be able to endanger Yugoslavia, Berisha is in his Greater-Albanian pretensions clearly counting on foreign military might,' NARODNA ARMIJA says.

American naval bases in Albania would be of great strategic importance to control future turmoil in the Balkans and to influence events in Albania (the establishment of a puppet regime), and also possible activities directed at Yugoslavia - Kosovo, Sandzak and Montenegro, the weekly argues.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Presidency Members Suspend Membership

LD0808140791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency representative Nikola Koljevic today told journalists that he and Biljana Plavsic will no longer take part in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency until a code of procedure is adopted.

According to Koljevic, [Presidency] President Alija Izetbegovic has privatized the Presidency. No one knows who is responsible for convening sessions and when, who is entitled to stand in for him. The most important decisions are being adopted by outvoting, etc. Koljevic went on to say that Biljana Plavsic and he will send a letter to Alija Izetbegovic asking him to adopt the Presidency's code of procedure drawn up in March this year. Until there is a debate on the code of procedure, he and Plavsic are "freezing" their membership in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

SDS Appeals To Serb Paramilitaries To Return

LD0808141791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, August 8 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radovan Karadzic today sent an appeal to the young men of this Yugoslav republic who are in paramilitary formations in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia to immediately return to their home republic.

If they return they will not bear any consequences but if they remain in the paramilitary uniforms and continue

to fight against the Serbian population they will have to bear all the consequences, Karadzic underscored.

The SDS, which rallies Serbs, is the second strongest party in the three-party ruling coalition in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which also includes the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), which rallies Moslems, and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), which rallies Croats.

Asked by TANJUG how many young men from this republic are in such formations in Croatia according to SDS estimates, Karadzic replied there were several thousand. Some are already returning, Karadzic said and some are sent back in coffins and buried by night in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The SDS has precise data concerning this, Karadzic underscored.

Clashes continue in Croatia between the armed units of this republic and the Serbian population's armed units.

Macedonia

Assembly Releases Referendum Proclamation

AU0808110191 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] The Macedonian Assembly today adopted a proclamation addressed to the citizens, which reads:

At its session of 6 August 1991, the Macedonian Assembly unanimously adopted the decision to call a referendum in the Republic of Macedonia at which the citizens of Macedonia should answer the question: Are you in favor of a sovereign and independent state of Macedonia with the right to join a future union of sovereign states of Yugoslavia?

By voting for it you will be voting for the realization of your centuries-old historic (?aspiration) for your own nationality, sovereignty, autonomy, and the democratic state of Macedonia, which will guarantee to all its citizens the civilized achievements of a humane and common life.

Citizens of Macedonia, by voting for it you will be voting for the right of Macedonia to preserve and protect your interests in a future union of sovereign states of Yugoslavia. By taking part in the referendum you will be contributing to the solution of the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful and democratic way.

Citizens of Macedonia, the Macedonian Assembly asks all citizens of Macedonia, in the republic and outside, to take part in the referendum and perform your citizens' duty to [word indistinct], freely, and directly express your will and wish for the future state-legal position of the Republic of Macedonia.

The referendum will be held on 8 September 1991. The referendum's decision will be the one made by the majority of citizens who are entered in the electoral registers.

This was stated in the proclamation issued by the Macedonian Assembly for the citizens of the republic.

Daily Views 8 Sep Independence Referendum

LD0808164891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1318 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Skopje, August 8 (TANJUG)—People in Macedonia will go to the September 8 referendum "to decide on their future for the first time exclusively by their own will, without intermediaries, interpreters of their needs and wishes, deputies or leaders," writes the Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA in today's number.

The paper believes that the outcome of the referendum—an independent Macedonia—is a foregone conclusion.

The Macedonian parliament on Tuesday decided on holding a referendum at which citizens will declare themselves on whether they want Macedonia as a sovereign republic. "They will be able to use their inalienable and sovereign right to decide by themselves on their own future, their united state on which nobody else in this world but themselves have the right to decide what kind of a state will it be and how will it exist," says NOVA MAKEDONIJA.